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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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tioning belief existed in the minds of all without exception. We shall see that it was quite the contrary in the course of the present paper; but even the few who had parted from all beliefs, felt that they could only attain the co-operation of the many by simulating a faith which they had ceased to feel.

It was not until the third Caliph Othman had been murdered, that the followers of the Prophet paused in their course of conquest to turn their swords against each other. Othman was succeeded by Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, and known as the "ever victorious lion of God." This was the beginning of troubles. Ali was accused of having instigated the murder of his predecessor. Othman's bloody shirt was conveyed to Syria, and displayed in the principal mosque of Damascus to incite the Syrian army to revenge his death. "Fifty thousand men," said the messenger who communicated these tidings to Ali at Medina, "are assembled about the robes of Othman, whose cheeks and beards have never been dry from tears, and whose eyes have never ceased from weeping blood since the hour of that prince's atrocious murder. They have drawn their swords with a solemn pledge never to return them to the scabbard, nor cease from mourning, until they have extirpated all concerned in that detested transaction. This sentiment they have left as a solemn bequest to their descendants; and the earliest principle that mothers instil into the minds of their infant offspring is, to revenge the blood of Othman to the last extremity." Simultaneously with this movement in Syria, Telha and Zobeir—two of the most renowned warriors among the Arabs—and Ayesha, the favourite wife of the Prophet, repaired to Bussora, and raised the standard of rebellion against the authority of Ali. But Ali, though deficient in political ability, and wanting apparently in the tact requisite to conciliate rival and turbulent factions, was an unrivalled soldier on the field of battle. He placed himself at the head of thirty thousand men, and advanced in the direction of Bussora. In the terrible "Battle of the Camel" seventeen thousand Arabs are said to have fallen; Telha and Zobeir were both killed, and Ayesha became a prisoner in the power of Ali. He treated her with the utmost forbearance and courtesy and caused her to be escorted to Mecca. This signal victory made Ali the undisputed sovereign of Irak, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and Khorassan. But the Syrian army remained implacable. Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, acknowledged Moawiah, the son of Abou Sofian, in the presence of the whole army, as the lawful Caliph and Prince of the Moslem. Ali attacked the Syrian host on the plain of Saffein. Victorious again and again in the battle field, he allowed himself to be outwitted in diplomacy. In the month Ramadan, A.H. 40,

the career of Ali was brought to a close by the dagger of an assassin, and Moawiah became the undisputed Caliph. Forthwith, in all the mosques throughout the regions of Islam, the names of Ali and of all his family were regularly cursed upon all occasions of public worship. His death was followed, nine years after, by that of his eldest son, Hasan, poisoned by his own wife, at the instigation, it is said, of Moawiah; and after a lapse of two years, his second son, Hoosein, crowned the misfortunes of his family by his bloody death on the plain of Kerbelah, on the tenth day of the month Mohurruum, A H 61.

The great schism was now complete. The blood of the martyrs, as it always must, had become the seed of a new Church. "The murdered Hoosein" became thenceforth a watchword of vengeance which again and again deluged with blood the empire of the Caliphs, and ultimately brought it to ruin. Yezid, the son of Moawiah, was the reigning Caliph at the time of the murder. That event was the signal for rebellious outbreaks in all parts of his dominions. The people of Medina were the first to revolt. Gathering together in the mosque round about the pulpit, one of them said,—“I lay aside Yezid, as I lay aside this turban,” throwing, with these words, his turban upon the ground. Another said,—“I put away Yezid as I put away this shoe.” And so on, until the whole floor was covered with cloaks, turbans, and shoes. The Caliph's lieutenant was driven out of the city, with the whole family of Ommeyah with their relations and dependants. Mecca followed the example and declared Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, the true Caliph; he for his part affirmed his readiness to revenge the blood of the martyr Hoosein. Yezid, however, lost no time in marching a force across the desert to Medina. The place was carried by storm, and given up to plunder for the space of three days. Those that had escaped the sword were compelled to swear themselves the slaves and vassals of Yezid. The orthodox army then marched to Mecca, but before the town surrendered, the Caliph died. The Muhammadan divines declared that God had cut him off in the flower of his age for the abominable outrages committed in the burying place of the Prophet. They quoted a saying of Muhammad: “Whoever injureth Medina shall melt away even as salt maketh in the water.”

But the death of Yezid came too late to avail anything in mitigating the bitter hatred which divided the followers of Ali from the rest of Islam. A difference—merely political in its origin—suffering and persecution speedily converted into a tenet of faith, dearer than life. Two Caliphs—Merwan and Abdal Malek—reigned in Damascus, in succession to Yezid; and still Qash and Bussora, Mecca and Medina, remained the theatre

of bloody battles and bloodier reprisals. Cufah was the centre of this fanatical fury. It was in obedience to an invitation from this city that the martyr Hoosein had left his asylum at Mecca, and started on that journey which terminated on the blood-stained plain of Kerbelah. The inhabitants had remained passive, while that tragedy was being enacted; and the memory of their culpable inaction preyed upon their souls like the worm that dieth not. Three years after his death (A.H. 64., A.D. 683) they came to the resolution that there was no way in which to atone for their crime but by avenging his death. Solyman, the son of Sorad—a leading follower of Ali—was placed at the head of the movement. The "penitents," as they termed themselves, appointed a place of assembly close to the city. Thence they despatched two horsemen to ride through the streets of Cufah and around the principal mosque, shouting, "Vengeance for Hoosein!" The inflammable people eagerly responded, and six thousand devoted men were soon collected, sworn to conquer or die in the cause. Their first step was to march to the plain of Kerbelah. There they spent a day and night around the Martyr's tomb, bewailing their sins, and praying for forgiveness. One who was present swore that he never saw such crowding and pressing even round the black stone of the Kaaba. When at length Solyman gave the order to march, not a man would move till he had first stood over Hoosein's tomb and asked for pardon. They plunged boldly into the vast waste, scored by deep ravines, and traversed by fierce hurricanes of wind, which stretches right up to the gardens of Damascus. But fatigue, hunger, and thirst are more potent enemies than a naked sword. Solyman soon found his men falling away from him. The army of Merwan, twenty thousand strong, barred his onward passage. The "penitents" were given the alternative to yield or die. They chose the latter, declaring that they should never again be so fit to leave the world as at this moment. The struggle was long and obstinate; but the might of numbers prevailed and the avengers of Hoosein perished to a man.

Another champion was not wanting. Al Moktar seized the banner which had fallen from the grasp of Solyman. He was a man of consummate daring and ability, and absolutely pitiless. He defeated army after army that was sent against him, and the Oriental historians, with Oriental exaggeration let us hope, assert that, exclusive of those slain in battle, fifty thousand of the enemies of Ali were the victims of his savage and unrelenting zeal. In this bloody strife quarter was neither asked nor given. Yezid, a general of Al Moktar, had defeated an army of the Caliph. Three hundred prisoners were brought before him. He

was chained to his litter by a violent and fatal disorder. Speechless and in the agonies of death, he had just strength sufficient to signify the order for death, by drawing his hand across his throat. Vengeance at last overtook Moktar in A. H. 67. His troops were defeated in a pitched battle in front of Cufah. With six thousand men he escaped into his palace within the city. The palace was surrounded, and his followers destitute of food. Al Moktar proposed that they should sally forth, and either cut their way through the enemy or perish with their swords in their hands. But his disheartened soldiers shrank from this desperate alternative. Only nineteen of his most attached friends declared their readiness to follow him. Al Moktar took leave of his army with the assurance that, after his death, they need not hope for mercy; then he and his companions wrapping themselves in their winding sheets rushed forth on the beleaguering army, and fell fighting to the last. The rest of his followers at once surrendered. They were paraded handcuffed in the market place of Cufah, and there slaughtered to a man. Thus, year after year in the vast expanse of country which lies between Damascus, Medina, Mecca, Cufah, and Bussorah a religious war raged unceasingly, with ever increasing ferocity, and apparently without any prospect of termination. At last a man appeared upon the scene, whose cruelty struck terror and astonishment in the hearts of even that cruel age. This was the infamous Hjjaj. The wild legend regarding his infancy tells more than any words we could use of the character he left behind him. "The child," Ibn Khallikan informs us, "refused the breast of his mother and every other person, so that they were at a loss what to do, till, as it is said, Satan appeared to them in the form of Al Harith Ibn Kalda, and asked them what was the matter; they told him the circumstance, and he said, "Kill a black kid and give its blood to the child to drink; the next day do the same thing; the third day slay a black he-goat and give the blood to be drunk by the child, then kill a snake and make the child swallow the blood, and daub his face with some of it; if you do this, the child will take the breast on the fourth day." They followed these directions, and the effect of this first nourishment was such that he could not refrain from shedding blood. He even said of himself that his greatest enjoyment was to shed blood and commit actions which no other could." This was the fitting instrument selected by the Caliph Abdal Malek to stamp out sedition in his dominions. We need not follow his operations in detail. Suffice it to say he succeeded. Sanguinary battles in the open field, and still more sanguinary massacres after the fights were over, at length stunned the land into a temporary peace. When Abdal Malek died (A. H. 86, A. D. 705), some years had elapsed since any rival

Caliph had openly taken the field against him. But the followers of Ali had only given way for a time to recover their strength for new efforts.

Southward of Cufah and Bussorah, but separated from those cities, and from the cultivated parts of Central Arabia, by the trackless waste of the Red Desert, the province of Hasa stretches along the black and sluggish waters of the Persian Gulf. Into this province the shattered wrecks of the Alites retreated. With the sea on one side and the desert on the other they might defy even the deep hate of Hjjaj. That Red Desert, Mr. Palgrave tells us, is the terror even of the wandering Bedouin. So light are the sands, he says, so capricious the breezes which traverse its surface, that no trace of preceding travellers remain to those who follow; while intense heat and glaring light reflected on all sides combine with drought and weariness to confuse and bewilder the adventurer, till he loses his compass, and wanders up and down at random amid a vast solitude, soon to become his grave. Beyond this unblest land rises a low range of hills; and on the further side of these lies the province of Hasa, thickly studded with oases, and green with groves of trees. The people of this part of Arabia had never taken but the most superficial varnish of Islamism, and they divested themselves of even that as soon as an opportunity was granted to them. Hence, whoever had fought against the religion of the Prophet was sure of a welcome here. The followers of Mosilama the Liar, the Separatists who had broken away from Ali, the Fire-worshippers from Persia, dwelt here in amicable intercourse. The followers of Ali now brought an additional religion with them, but diverse as were these forms of faith, they were knit together by a common hatred of the orthodox Moslem. And in the intermingling of them all we can trace the origin of those wild and mystical superstitions which were subsequently engrafted upon the narrow and stern monotheism of the Koran.

Hither then the Shias retired to brood upon their defeats and their wrongs. To the unsympathising mind, nothing can well appear more insensate and unintelligible than the profound hatred which divides the Shia from the Soounes. The one rejects the legality of the first three Caliphs; the other acknowledges it. That is all. But we know from the history of our own land, how the recollections of Edgehill, Marston Moor, Naseby, and the scaffold in front of Whitehall transformed for one-half of the English people, the obstinate and treacherous Charles I., into "a sainted martyr" in whose cause it was a blessed thing to die. We know how some of the noblest men then in England, Ormond, Derby, Montrose, were so possessed by this imagination that they counted their lives as nothing in comparison with their

duty to him. The Cavaliers of England, even the wildest and most reckless of them, honestly believed that they were fighting for a divine principle, and not merely for Charles I. or Charles II. The Republican notion, that a people had the right to regulate their Government as they thought best, appeared to them a manifest opposition to the will of God. He would not have permitted kings to exist at all, unless kings were essential to peace and order. The defeat and execution of Charles I, so far from eradicating this belief, had the effect only of stamping it even more ineffaceably in their minds. The avengers of Hoosein appear to have passed through a very similar mental process. A mere difference of opinion, as we have already said, was gradually transmuted into a vital article of faith.

Originally there seems to have been no dispute between the two sections of Islam, but that the spiritual leader of the Moslem must be elected by a popular vote. But as calamity and misfortune thickened around the cause of Ali, as he and his sons descended one after another into an untimely grave, his followers discarded this election by universal suffrage as something heretical and profane. The dangers of the battle field, the pains of persecution, clothed with a more than earthly splendour the objects for whom they were endured. It seemed impossible that so much zeal, so much courage, such a vast extent of misery could have no higher originating cause than a simple question of election. Tradition was not slack to invest Ali and his sons with a gorgeous halo of supernatural attributes. In the contemplation of these attributes, in the recognition of a divine right to command inherent in the family of Ali, the Shia found a consolation in the midst of disaster and death. And thus was gradually educed the fundamental tenet of his sect—their devotion to the Imam or spiritual head of the Faith. It was incredible, they affirmed, that the supreme authority, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, should have been left to the chances of an election by vulgar and ignorant people. The Prophet could not have neglected to decide so weighty a matter himself; from this it was a short step to the conviction that he could have decided it in one way only; that he actually did decide it in that way; and that the post of Imam belonged and could belong only to Ali and his family. Devotion to the lawful Imam, whether visibly at the head of Islam or not, became by this process the first and last duty of the true Moslem. It was held to constitute the whole of religion, and all the positive precepts of the Koran were declared to be allegorical statements of this one doctrine. The injunction to pray was declared to be only a mode of symbolising that entire devotion which was due to the

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ART. I.—THE SECT OF “THE ASSASSINS.”

THE state of society in Arabia, previous to the time of Muhammad, was very similar to that which exists in Afghanistan at the present day. There was no Arab nation, but a vast number of tribes, some stationary, some nomadic, scattered over the peninsula, engaged in endless feuds among themselves. The names of certain kingdoms—Hira, Yemen, Ghassan—figure in the ante-Islamic period; but a close examination of them shows that they were little more than names given to an agglomeration of tribes, the relations of which changed and shifted like the sands of their own deserts when the wind passes over them. The fervent convictions and profound political ability of the Prophet, imposed upon these restless atoms the uniting influence of a common faith and a common allegiance. But the period of one man's life was too brief to allow the precepts of Islam to take firm root in the mind of the Arab, or to secure permanently the submission of his changeful and impetuous nature. The Arab, we learn from Mr. Gifford Palgrave, is a believing creature rather than a religious one. He has a profound sense of the Possibilities which may lie hidden in the depths of the infinite Unknown. He gives an easy credence to any message which purports to come from the invisible world. Hence there was to him nothing especially surprising or incredible in the Prophet's claim to a divine mission. But the very facility with which he acceded to this claim, rendered him, of necessity, equally accessible to like demands from other quarters. Three other Prophets, each with a following of his own, were in the field ere yet Muhammad had departed this life; and his death was the signal for a general dissolution of the tribes that his personal influence alone had hitherto held together. The schism penetrated even to Medina—the very spot where he breathed his last. The citizens of Medina, as those who had first

of all recognised the God-given authority of the Prophet, who had granted him an asylum when forced to fly from the persecution and idolatry of Mecca, asserted their exclusive right to elect a successor on his death. At the same time they expressed their willingness to concede the same privilege to the men of Mecca if they pleased. "Let each of the two great cities of Islam," they said, "have its own spiritual leader." It is needless to say that, had this suggestion been adopted, the banners of Islam would never have penetrated beyond the limits of the Hejaz. Mecca and Medina would have preyed upon each other, to the ultimate extinction of the new faith altogether. But the danger was warded off. Three Caliphs were successively acknowledged by the whole world of Islam. The rival Prophets fell before the fierce valour of Kaled. The recollections of domestic feuds were quenched for a time in the bright hopes of plundering a world. A united Arabia—if not a united Islam—poured across the northern sandy waste to the conquest of Syria and Palestine. A few sieges, a few fierce battles, and these rich provinces were torn away for ever from the dominions of the Byzantine Emperor. The ancient Sassanian dynasty was crushed on the field of Kadesia, and Persia added to the dominions of the Caliph. In less than three years the Arabs were masters of Egypt. But the Arab impulse to divide, to split up into a number of fragments, was only held for a while in subjection by the stronger desire for women and for plunder. The moment the tide of conquest was stayed it reasserted itself with all its pristine vigour; but with this difference. Had the Arab confederacy dissolved at the time of the Prophet's death, the recollection too of Islam would speedily have been effaced by the attractions of the old religions. But the new faith had now been tried in a furnace seven times heated, and proved to be a weapon of surpassing temper and sharpness. It had not only shown itself stronger than every indigenous system of belief, but even after the death of its promulgator, it had gone forth north, south, east, and west, and every foe the Arab encountered, had gone down before the battle cry of "God and His Prophet." This was just the demonstration calculated to convince the conscience of a people who confessed no arbitration but that of force—whose God was an irresistible force, simply issuing decrees to men. Hence the Arabs, as a people, never afterwards let go their hold on the fundamental tenet of Islam. Amid all their religious wars, there is never any question to substitute some other confession for that of the one God which they had received from the Prophet. It is the true faith—the real veritable Islam—implied in that confession which each party desired to establish, cost what it may. Not that the same unques-

Imam as the Head of Islam. Fasting became the symbol of that silence and secrecy which it behoved the Faithful to keep regarding their faith in the presence of strangers and persecutors. The prohibition of fornication was refined away into a warning forbidding men to swerve, even in thought, from a complete and absolute submission to the Imam, or his temporary representative on earth. Thus even the small amount of human love and human sympathy which Muhammad had allowed to his God was successfully got rid of, and the follower of Ali remained confronted by a dark and inscrutable Fate. Fatalism is laid down, in so many words, again and again in the Koran. But the Prophet was better than his system. His mind could not rest satisfied with a conception of God which declared simply that he brought men to heaven or plunged them into hell quite independently of moral considerations. He addresses Him as the Merciful and Compassionate. He was a profound believer in the efficacy of prayer, of alms, of fasting. The government of the world he declared to be a moral government, with no greater outrage upon the reason and conscience of mankind than is inflicted by Calvinism or the Westminster Confession of Faith. But all these softening traits, under the manipulation of the Shia, ceased to have any reference to the Deity at all. They were held only to apply to the Imam; and the Deity was converted into a horrible Moloch who "burns one individual through all eternity amid red hot chains and seas of molten fire, and seats another in the plenary enjoyment of an everlasting brothel between forty celestial concubines just and equally for his own good pleasure, and because he wills it." From this doctrine sprung as a matter of necessity that of the indifference of human actions, with all the horrid cruelties and sensual abominations which follow in its wake, and which have given the Shia an infamous notoriety in the annals of the East. But the Arab, as we have already quoted, is a believing rather than a religious animal. The old Sabœanisms of Hasa and Oman, the Dualism of the Persian Fireworshipper, the tenets of the sect of Moseilama, the witchcraft and magic imported from Africa, even some vague conception of the Incarnation, had entered into Hasa to mingle with the naked monotheism of the Muhammadan. The Arab accepted them all. Beyond the flaming walls of the Universe, outside of the reach of human ken, who could tell what things the inscrutable Fate he worshipped, might not have prepared for the children of men? A swarm of wild beliefs and portentous imaginings, assumed gradually some semblances of a system, and from Hasa as a centre "rayed out" confusion, disorder, and perplexity into the regions of orthodox Islam. Secret societies sprang up in all parts of Asia with a regular organisation of *daïs* or

missionaries to win adherents to the family of Ali, and to some one or other modification of the tenets held by his followers. Moore's "Veiled Prophet of Khorassan" was one of these emissaries of disorder. Babek, who taught the indifference of human actions and exhibited it in acts of brutal lust and inhuman cruelty during the reigns of the Caliphs Mansour and Mutassem, was another. Both these insurrections were productive of an infinitude of human suffering, but the power of the Caliphs was still too strong and closely knit together to be seriously endangered by them. Not so with the terrible outbreak of the Karmathians in the fourth century of the Hijrah. The vast dominions of the Caliphs had then begun to crumble away, and break up from within with the rapidity which belongs to Oriental politics; and the Karmathians shook to the very centre the already weakened fabric.

The foundation stone of the Muhammadan Polity was the absolute combination of the supreme spiritual and temporal power in a single functionary. Every thing that proceeded from the mouth of the Prophet had been declared by him to be a divine communication transmitted through the Archangel Gabriel. Is his favourite wife Ayesha suspected of adultery? The angel Gabriel appears with a communication which not only restores her good name, but announces the exact punishment to be inflicted upon those who dared to think otherwise. Is the Prophet smitten with an illicit admiration for the wife of his adopted son? The complaisant Gabriel again appears upon the scene, absolving the Prophet from the morality which enchained smaller folk. There was nothing too small or too trivial not to become a subject of divine communication. And hence the Koran is not only an account of the relations between man and his Creator, but a code of laws to regulate marriage, divorce, concubinage, inheritance, and all the other thousand and one matters which the Governor of an Arab tribe would be called upon to decide; and every such law was stamped with the seal of a divine authority, which rendered it incapable of change or modification. To these in after days were added "the Traditions," which in sacredness and authority were raised to a level with the precepts laid down in the Koran. In a word, the Muhammadan theory was, that, before the death of the Prophet, a complete guide to conduct in all the concerns of life had been laid down for men by God himself. There was only needed a single functionary to see it carried into effect. The Caliph was that functionary. He was the Vicar or Lieutenant of God. The Church of Rome has always aspired to such a position; but there is this broad difference between her pretensions and the position of the Caliphs. The Church of Rome is herself in possession of a Spirit of knowledge and light which gives her

(so to speak) a co-ordinate power of jurisdiction with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. This has, hitherto, been the secret of her power. She has been able to adapt her teaching to the changing necessities of the age; and incorporate into the Church every new manifestation of spiritual life which had succeeded in rooting itself in the convictions of men. Such a belief was altogether contrary to the Muhammadan faith. The Caliph was simply the executor of a law which he could not change or modify; although as the Vicegerent of God he was also the source whence all authority proceeded, whether temporal or spiritual, and as such entitled to unquestioning obedience. In a word, the government of the Caliph was a highly centralised despotism which fastened with an iron grasp alike on the actions of men and on their inner lives. Progress either in thought or in political freedom became impossible, because change at all was tantamount to rebellion against the written decrees of God. Nothing was permitted to be sown; and every seed of a higher life which chance might have wafted thither, had to be destroyed the moment it took root. The sweet and purifying charities of domestic life could have no place in a society where lust was stamped with the divine approval, and its unlimited gratification declared to be the highest reward the Creator could bestow upon the creature He had made. Intellectual power, possessing no legitimate sphere of activity, was driven perforce into a perverted and useless mysticism. Religion petrified into a formal round of rites and ceremonies, which affected the inner life of the worshipper as much or as little as the praying machine of the Buddhist. In the reign of Mamoun a desperate effort was made to relieve the world of this horrible incubus of a dead revelation, and give some freedom to the intellect and reason. A party which numbered the Caliph himself among its adherents denied that the Koran was the uncreated eternal word of God. They declared it to be the word of the Prophet only, and as such liable to correction and modification. But the attempt failed, and the Faith of Islam has remained ever since "stiff as a dead man's hand." A fearfuller curse was never bequeathed to humanity. People talk of the crimes of Christendom, and it is impossible to think of them without the bitterest sorrow and humiliation. But they are, at least, in direct and manifest opposition to the precepts of Christianity; whereas slavery, lust, tyranny, and the degradation of women, are not accidents of Islam, which may be removed without damage to the main structure. They are of its very essence. The very sublimity of the Prophet's presentation of the One God, by investing his other doctrines with a scintillating splendour which fascinated the imagination, has had the effect of rendering them indefinitely

more powerful for evil. And yet there are men, with the spectacle of Persia, Arabia, and Central Asia before them, with the knowledge that the utter corruption of society in all these countries is directly traceable to the effects of the Muhammadan religion, who would have us believe it sound policy to expend the imperial revenues in the systematic dissemination of this poison among our fellow-subjects in this country. This, however, is a digression.

The rule of the Caliphs was a highly centralised despotism—a despotism such as a European can with difficulty conceive of. The West, it is true, has suffered grievously from "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," but with the worst tyrannies there has never ceased to co-exist the idea of duties on the part of rulers towards those they ruled. This has been acknowledged by the tyrant, not less than his subjects, even when he was acting in opposition to it. But in the atmosphere of Islam such a conception could not live. The absolute omnipotence of God crushed all else. There could be no moral relations between a Caliph and his people, when both were subject to one fixed and unalterable law; and hence that almost superhuman selfishness, that astounding indifference to human suffering which are the especial characteristics of the Muhammadan potentate. The governors of the various provinces were clothed with powers as broad and sweeping as those of the Caliph himself; but their tenure of place depended on his sole will and pleasure. Any dereliction from the right path brought with it—at least while the central source of authority was still strong and full of energy—a prompt and often fearful retribution. The plan generally seems to have been to depose him at once and despatch his bitterest enemy to take his place, whose first act would be to destroy a possible rival. There was no regular mode of execution. Beheading, indeed, was the most common; but Caliphs and Governors alike never seemed to have hesitated to glut their revenge by devising cruel and prolonged tortures. Oriental history abounds with stories of terrific deaths, inflicted for no other reason than to torture an enemy; and these impress the reader with all the more horror, because they are told without any expressions of wonder or reproach. The acts were far too common to allow of such feelings. But a despotism, just because it succeeds so completely in crushing the spirit of its subjects, can never be other than a fair weather government. It stands upon force, and therefore must fall the moment a stronger force appears upon the field. It has no reserve fund of loyalty or patriotism on which it can draw. The Caliphs suffered from this. A rebellious governor could only be coerced by a loyal one. A loyal governor could be induced to coerce him only by an enormous extension of wealth and power. That extension once granted, the governor

became virtually independent—the Caliph preferring a nominal submission to a struggle which might end in his own complete defeat. Ul Mamoun, the greatest of the Caliphs, was also the first who was compelled to make one of these concessions. He granted the province of Khorassan in perpetuity to his General Taher. It was like the letting out of waters. The Soffarides drove out the family of Taher; the Samanides supplanted the Soffarides; the Ghaznivides, these; and so the kaleidoscope of Eastern History changes and shifts in endless unrest, as “as in dry Sahara, when the winds waken and lift and winnow the immensity of sand! The air itself is (travellers say) a dim sand air; and dim looming through it, the wonderfullest colonnades of sand pillars rush whirling from this side and from that, like so many spinning dervishes of a hundred feet stature; and dance their huge desert-waltz there.”* A true and terrible picture of Oriental history. What happened to the mute and suffering people while these mad spinning dervishes of conquerors danced their huge desert waltz over unburied corpses and ruined cities, is terrible to imagine. Occasionally a flash of light reveals them to us perishing by thousands of famine, or ground to the earth under some inhuman oppressor. But any one can perceive for himself that all faith in a righteous God, or any divinely appointed order of the Universe, must have given way under the weight of these accumulated sufferings. It is by the contemplation of these that we penetrate to the meaning of Orientalism in all its diverse manifestations—of Sufism, which strove to seek for consolation by complete abstraction from a world racked and tormented as a prey by all the powers of evil—of Eastern Poetry which finds its fount of inspiration, its type of human joys, in the transient beauty of spring, or the fleeting splendour of a full-blown rose; and, lastly, of those wild and desperate efforts to utterly destroy the foundations of all order, to set men free from the tyranny of all moral laws and all religious creeds, of which the Karmathian insurrection was the first, and the sect of the “Assassins” the last and most terrible result. Accepting the fundamental tenets of Islam—the omnipotence of God and the fixedness of Fate—the ruthless logic of the Karmathian declared that prayer, alms, pilgrimages, were all equally vain and useless—snares contrived to exalt a certain portion of mankind at the expense of the vast majority. A society erected upon these manifest falsehoods must be extirpated root and branch before men could obtain that modicum of enjoyment which was to be snatched from the fleeting hours of life.

* Carlyle's *French Revolution*, vol. II., p. 129.

The disintegrating process to which we have referred was advancing with fearful swiftness, but the Caliph was still a potentate of considerable power, when the Karmathians broke out into revolt. Mutamed was the name of the reigning Sovereign. The disorders they at first excited were not considerable ; but they continually increased in strength, and with every accession of strength their blows fell heavier upon the tottering fabric of orthodoxy. In the course of six years they had laid waste with fire and sword the provinces of Irak, Syria, and Mesopotamia ; they had stormed the cities of Baalbec and Salenico, and massacred the citizens. The armies of the Caliphs were defeated again and again. The caravans proceeding to the Holy City were repeatedly plundered, and the pilgrims murdered in cold blood. All the country which lay between Bagdad and Mecca became a scene of smoking ruins, weeping, and bloodshed ; the leaders of the Karmathians became powerful princes. In the province of Hasa, shut in on every side by the burning sands of the Red Desert, they ruled secure from invasion. The remains of their magnificent palace is still to be seen on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and was visited by Mr. Gifford Pulgrave. It was in A.H. 317 that these ruthless sectaries committed their most dreadful outrage—an outrage which filled Islam with an indescribable horror, and an intensity of hatred which led ultimately to the suppression of the Karmathians.

Mecca is a long, narrow, unremarkable city, standing in a waste and desolate valley, and encircled by waste and desolate hills, where not a vestige of grass or green herb, and hardly a single tree, relieves the intolerable glare of the sand. Above it, the hot Arabian sun pours down its fiercest heat ; which is reflected back from the bare rocky hills in almost greater intensity. By situation, the holy city of Islam would never have been, at best, more than a watering station for the weary caravan in its passage across the desert. An accident, one might say, has changed its destiny. It possessed the world-famous black stone which, through immemorial ages, had been an object of worship to the tribes of Arabia. No reader needs to be informed how the Prophet, desperate of uprooting this deep-rooted superstition from the minds of his countrymen, was fain to compromise with it—how he interwove the worship of the black stone with that of the One God ; adopted into his own system the complicated ceremonial which expressed that worship, and thereby converted, for all the regions of Islam, the barren valley of Mecca into a spot as sacred as the city of Jerusalem—so deep and so enduring is the power of religious associations. At the time of which we are writing, the pilgrimage of Mecca was still conducted with something of its first fervour and splen-

dour. The number of the devout was enormous. From the furthest confines of Khorassan, from Damascus, Egypt, and Africa, they flocked, secure in the protection afforded by the sacred months, in a world peopled by the worshippers of the One God. The Caravan had arrived safely at Mecca,—an unusual event, and Mecca was crowded by thousands of devotees from every quarter whither the creed of the Prophet had penetrated. On the 8th Dzul Hajj, the great pilgrimage is made to the mountain of Arafat. The city and all the narrow valley were filled to over-flowing with an innumerable concourse of men and horses and camels ; each caravan striving to fall into its appointed station. Suddenly the gleam of swords and spears flashed in a line of fire above the hills overlooking Mecca. The Karmathians under their fierce chieftain, Abou Tahir, had marched rapidly across the desert, through the uplands of Nejd, and now stood mustered in battle array upon the mountains with the devoted city at their feet. The vast multitude wedged into the narrow streets could neither fight nor fly. The swords of the Karmathians hewed their bloody way through an unresisting mass. The slaughter did not cease until thirty thousand corpses lay rotting in the sacred valley. The holy well of Zem Zem was choked with the bodies of the slain. The pavement of the Beitullah—the House of God—was torn up, and the slaughtered devotees buried in the holy precincts in promiscuous heaps without any of those rites which are held essential in the interment of a true believer. Mecca was pillaged. The cloth covering of the Kaaba removed ; and the black stone, split into pieces by a blow from a sacrilegious Karmathian, was conveyed away to Hasa, and not restored for a space of twenty-two years. "On the whole," says an Arabic writer, "no Moslems either before or after them committed such crimes against Islamism as they ; most of Irak and of the land of the east (*i.e.*, Mesopotamia), the province of Hejaz, Syria, and the country up to the gates of Misr (Egypt) fell into their power." At the same time this terrible outrage had the effect of uniting the orthodox against the common enemy. It became a struggle not only for the preservation of Islam, but for that of society against anarchy. The conflict raged with decreasing severity for nearly a century, when the Karmathians yielded up the struggle. They were finally driven back and cooped up into the narrow strip of cultivation that runs along the Persian Gulf. The victors could not pursue their advantage further. The Red Desert presented an insuperable obstacle ; and Hasa and Bahrein were never restored to the true fold of Islam. The district, Mr. Gifford Palgrave tells us, has remained permanently estranged from Islam, a heap of moral and religious ruins, of Karmathian and esoteric doctrines. The Wahabes at

present reigns supreme there, and compels an external orthodoxy ; but, Mr. Palgrave adds, " the Karmathian reaction burns secretly on, and waits but an occasion to break out afresh into a blaze, sufficient to consume, perhaps for the last time, the superstructure of Wahabeeism and Islam." It was a seed flung from this teeming nursery ground of heresy and abomination that produced that monstrous growth, the sect of "The Assassins."

(To be continued.)

R. D. O.

ART. II.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FEMALE MIND IN INDIA.

1.—*Selection of Discourses at the meetings of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge.* Vols. I., II., III. Calcutta : 1840, 1842, 1843.

2.—*Rámaranjiká.* By Tekchánd Thákur. Calcutta: 1860.

THE languages, literature, and philosophy of India have furnished inexhaustible subjects for investigation and study to the scholars and *scavans* both of the East and of the West. Continued numismatic, archæological, and philological enquiries have thrown no small amount of light on the past condition of the country; and the results of such researches now put us in possession of some information, however imperfect in several respects, about the social condition of the people in former ages. In estimating the position of a nation in the scale of civilisation, one of the first enquiries naturally touches upon the culture of the female mind. Though diffident of doing justice to the discussion, we will present to our readers what we have been able to collect from all available sources. To clear the way, and in the hope of rendering our treatment of the subject more lucid, we will first attempt a rapid sketch of the development of the Hindú mind in general, and of the different phases through which it passed in early times.

The Aryas, the meaning of whose name is "excellent, honourable," were first settled in the Panjáb. It is supposed that they had been living in the northern regions, whence they came by the north-west. The aborigines made room for them as they gradually extended their dominion. The Aryavarta constituted the plains of the Ganges and the country between the Himálaya and the Vindhya hills; but gradually the boundary was extended. The existence of villages, cities, or fortified places, houses, kings, rulers or governors, different grades of persons, different professions and trades, is a clear proof of early social organization showing life and activity. But with certain classes mundane occupation appears to have been subordinate to spiritual contemplation. Those who were settled on the banks of the Saraswatí made the study of God and soul the warp and woof of their thought. Their spoken language was the Sanskrit, which grew in richness as it was used in the outpourings of their souls to the divine powers, which their understandings could not in the first instance fathom further than the elements of nature. The result of this constant devotion of their minds to divine contem-

plation is the Rig-Veda, in which the three other Vedas are named ; but the latter were subsequently composed as distinct works for the use of the different classes of priests who gradually were called upon to perform special services ; viz., the Yajur for Adhvarya, Sáma for Udgata, and Atharva for Brahma. The Rig was intended for Hota. It is in verse and prose, and so are the other Vedas. The Sáma is the Rig set to tune ; and the Atharva relates chiefly to expiatory ceremonies and to those for appeasing, blessing, cursing, &c. The Vedas embody the productions of four successive periods, viz.,—I, Chhandas or original hymns ; II., Mantra or Sanhitá, ceremonial or textual ; III, Bráhmāna, or explanation of the hymns ; IV., Sūtra or Vedānga, concise directions for practical ceremonies. The last few chapters of the Bráhmāna are called Aranyakas, or intended to be read in the forest ; and Upanishads, or intended to be read by sitting near the preceptor. The Upanishads consequently form the last division of the Vedic literature. According to Walter Elliot their number is 123, according to Dr. Roer, 138, according to Mahāvākya Ratnavali, 1180 ; but according to Sankara Achárya, 10 or 11, which must be the ancient Vedic Upanishads—the others having been written at different periods in support of particular creeds, and being evidently of later date.

In the Rig and Yajur Veda Sanhitás, monotheism is distinctly inculcated ; and they prove the belief of the Aryas, to quote the words of Professor Wilson, “in one God when nought else existed, and that the world was created by his fiat and organized by his wisdom.” Repeated passages say “there is in truth but one deity, the Supreme Spirit, Adore God alone, know God alone, give up all other discourse.” As to the immortality of the soul, “the Vedic hymns recognized unreservedly the difference between a material and spiritual state of being, and looked to the survival of the soul” in a heavenly sphere ; but there is no distinct mention of the doctrine of metempsychosis which subsequently entered so largely into the theology and philosophy of the Hindús. The Upanishads, though embodying the scattered and detached views of the Vedic Sanhitá or Mantra, contain lofty and clear views on God and the soul ; with the commentary and explanation of later writers. While the Upanishads bear the impress of elevated and spiritual minds, the Bráhmāna is the embodiment of ritualism and ceremonial rites. The Vedānga to which we have already referred not only treats of Kalpa (ceremonies), but also of education, grammar, versification, lexicography, and astronomy.

The Chhandas period was characterized by the spontaneous and free expression of thought and feeling. The Sanhitá was the age of digestion and reflection. The Bráhmāna period was the period of methodization and elucidation ; and the Sūtra era was the era

for amplification both of the theology and of the ceremonial of the Bráhmans. The Sûtras do not appear to have been simple enough, as they were followed by the Parisishta, or appendix supplying what had been overlooked.

There are traces of priests in the Rig-Veda, but the organization of the order does not appear to have been made during the Chhandas or Mantra period; and up to the close of the latter period, the Bráhmans were not recognised as a sacerdotal class. The predominance of the ceremonial element in the worship naturally led to the formation of the clergy; whose influence and authority grew with the growth of the Vedic hymns inculcating their employment as "domestic chaplains," and holding them out as model husbands with whom the Rajanyas and the Vaisyas could not be compared.

The Vedic idea of caste as entertained by Bhṛigu is contained in the Mokshadharma of the Mahábhárat. According to that Rishi there is in reality no distinction of caste. The whole world is full of God; but the distinctions were made as the Bráhmans took to other occupations and became carnal. Be the cause whatever it may, it is clear that the latter part of the Vedic age was not free from the influence of caste. But as what is abnormal cannot be received universally, the clergy exasperated the other classes and there were disparaging songs. "The carpenter seeks something broken, the doctor a patient, the priest some one to offer libations." Another effect was that the priests were divided, and became hostile to each other. Their despotism roused others to think. The Vedas began to lose their hold on thoughtful minds. In the Taittīrya Saṁhitá, the first three Vedas are described as "limited;" and "there is no end of sacred knowledge."

The Chhandagya Upanishad contains a dialogue between Nárada and Sanatkumára, which distinctly shows the marked changes in the religious sentiments of the age. Nárada appeared before Sanatkumára for instruction and was requested to state what he had learnt. Nárada said, "I am instructed, Venerable Sage! in the Rig-Veda, the Yajur Veda, the Sáma Veda, the Atharva (which is) the fourth, the Itihásas and Puránas (which are) the fifth Veda of the Vedas, the rites of the *pitrís*, the art of reasoning, ethics, the science of the gods, the knowledge of Scripture, demonology, the science of war, the knowledge of the stars, the science of serpents and deities; this is what I have studied. I, venerable man! know only the hymns (*mantras*); while I am ignorant of soul." Sanatkumára replied—"That which thou hast studied is nothing but name."

The growth of heterodoxy may be traced from an early period. The fire was long latent and smouldering; but it blazed forth as the undue influence of the hierarchy was felt by the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. Viśwámitra, who was himself one of the Vedic writers,

and Janaka were the first to lead the van of opposition. Vrihaspati, who was perhaps encouraged by this secession, attacked the Vedas and the Bráhmans; calling "the three authors of the Vedas, buffoons, rogues, and fiends." Such continued anathemas and vehement denunciations of priestcraft necessitated a change. Society was convulsed; and the leading intellects of the age were divided into no less than sixteen schools, including the Chárvák and Buddhist. The most prominent schools were six, *viz.*, Vedánta, Mimánsá, Vaishesika, Nyáya, Sáukhya, and Pátanjali.

The Vedánta means the Upanishad or the concluding part of the Vedas. The Vedánta Darsana is the Saífra sūtra, or instructions on the soul; so named, because it is based on the Vedánta or Upanishad. The Mimánsá is nearly allied to the Vedánta, and reconciles the Vedic ritualism with reason. The Vaishesika treats of physics (particular or atomic); and the Nyáya treats of metaphysics. The Sáukhya is supposed to be atheistic, but in reality it maintains that a knowledge of God cannot be attained by disputation. It does not hold, like the Vedánta, that all individual souls are mere emanations of the soul of the universe to which they return; but looks upon them as independent entities which, while in flesh, are under the influence of Prakrita or earthly trammels, but when liberated are not born again. What the Sáukhya inculcated, Pátanjali elaborated; and reduced the theory to practice by laying down the *modus operandi* for the regeneration of a man as a spiritual being. Of the six *darsanas*, the Sáukhya is considered latitudinarian; as it is based on "deliberation," and hence is not orthodox in its tenets. But it is a mistake to call it atheistical, as it "culminates in Brahma as the Primeval Power." This view is also confirmed by the Mahábhárat, Gita, Srimat Bhágbata, and Yoge Báshista Rámáyana. The same mistake has been made in attributing atheism to Buddhism, which is clearly based on the Sáukhya philosophy. Vans Kennedy has expressed an opinion that "the Hindú philosophers of every school and every period asserted a spiritual principle alone, and never countenanced materialism." During the Sūtra period, matters domestic and social were regulated according to the forms and rules then in existence. But to meet the varied requirements of society, and all possible contingencies, we had subsequently the codes of law treating of *ácár* or ceremonial and ethical laws, Vyavahára or jurisprudence, and Práyaschitta or expiation and punishment of crime. Of the different Rishis who legislated for this country, Manu is considered the highest. Sir William Jones places his code about 880 B.C. The opinion which he expresses of the code is that, in spite of its faults, it is marked by "a spirit of sublime devotion, of benevolence to mankind, and of amiable tenderness to all sentient creatures." All the codes profess to be based on the Vedas; but what the Vedas

did not prohibit, what they tolerated and even encouraged, Manu condemns—*viz.*, the use of animal food; and he gives distinct injunctions for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

The gradual formation and development of Buddhism was owing to the predominance of the Bráhmancial priesthood and the simultaneous progress of caste dividing society into sections hostile to each other. The religion of Sákya Muni appeared as the exponent of the theological views of the seceders in the chief cities of India about the middle of the third century B.C. The Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas were at the bottom of this heterodox movement. When the first Buddhist convocation was held, there were sixty-two heretical sects. In 246 B.C., the third convocation was held under the powerful auspices of Asoka. The people had been prepared for the denunciation of caste, the defiance of the Vedas and of the sacerdotal authorities, the abstinence from animal food, and the practice of purity and holiness leading to *nirvána* or *spirituality*—not annihilation. The edicts proclaimed by Asoka suited admirably the temper of the age. The language used by the preachers, *viz.*, the Páli, was the language of women and domestic servants. The religion was not only received throughout the length and breadth of the country, but was gradually extended to Ceylon, Siam, Ava, Pegu, the Burmese Empire, China, Thibet, Tartary, Mongolia, and Siberia. The expansion and culmination of Buddhism took place during the Greek connexion with India which commenced in 327 B.C. The decline of Buddhism commenced in the seventh century, A.D. In the 16th century it had disappeared so totally, that Abulfazl could not get any one to give an account of it. One great cause of the gradual decline of this religion was the want of competent teachers and preachers. The people who had been so powerfully moved to do what is humane and holy, began to lose all respect for the creed when practices opposite to what had been laid down as sacred, were freely carried on. This gave rise to another sect—the Jaiuas. According to their own accounts they look up to Mahávira; who flourished before Gautama Buddha, whom he is said to have taught. Jainism cannot be satisfactorily traced to the Greek period in India. It gained ascendancy in the 8th or 9th century A.D.; and held its sway to the middle of the 11th century, A.D. Its assimilation to Bráhmianism was marked. It adopted its pantheon; and inculcated deference to the Vedas, the observance of caste, and the employment of priests from among the Bráhmans. Bráhmianism had to carry on a hard campaign for a thousand years. In the 18th century A.D., it again flourished throughout India Proper; and imparted polytheistical influence both to Buddhism and Jainism.

In 1157 A.D., the Muhammadan Empire was founded in India; and after a succession of dynasties, it was extinguished in A.D. 1761. One would have supposed that from the period of the Greek conquest and the predominance of Buddhism, the Hindú mind would have been directed and devoted to Buddhistical literature to the neglect of the cultivation of the Bráhmancial learning; but this is not borne out by historic records. Vikramāditya flourished in Ujjainí in 56 B.C. He was a great encourager of learning, and his palace was the focus of the intellect of the age. The nine gems of his court contributed richly to the enrichment of dramatic literature. From the first century to a late period we had dramatic works, Puránas, tales, and numerous other works literary and scientific. One peculiarity of the history of the Hindú mind is, that it preserved its tranquillity in the midst of social and political convulsions. While the country was being rent into antagonistic classes and sects, the cultivation of science and literature was not neglected, nor was it confined to any particular part of the country. After the Christian era we had several astronomers. Aryabhatta in A.D. 476 was born near Patna, and is called "the founder of Mathematical and Astronomical Science in India." Varáha Mihira in A.D. 587 flourished at Ujjainí, and was celebrated for his astronomical learning. He was acquainted with the Greek astronomy. Brahmagupta in A.D. 628; Bháskara Achárya in A.D. 1019. The latter flourished at Ujjainí, and "was fully acquainted with the principle of the differential calculus." Another subject to which the Hindú mind was directed in later ages, is, *law*. We have had numerous glossaries, commentaries on the text books, digests of the text books, and commentaries forming the authorities for the five schools, *viz.*, Bengal, Mithilá, Benares, Marhattá, and Drávir. Raghunandan, who is the author of a complete digest for Bengal, lived in the 16th century A.D. The word Purána occurs in the Vedas; but what Puránas or parts of them existed then it is difficult to determine. As they were evidently written to counteract the influence of Buddhism and work on the popular mind, it is not at all unlikely that some of them were composed at an early date. Their composition is, however, supposed to have commenced in the 7th century A.D. Both Colebrooke and Wilson ascribe the authorship of the *Srimat Bhágbata* to Bopdeva in the 13th century A.D., after the appearance of the Vishnu Purána. The native tradition is strongly against this hypothesis. Bábu Rájendraál Mitra, a distinguished oriental scholar, in noticing the *Muktáphala* says,—“This work and another lately found by me in which the same author gives an abstract of the contents of the *Bhágbata*, afford strong presumptive evidence against the opinion now generally received by oriental scholars, that the *Bhágbata*

was written by Bopdeva. A much stronger proof, however, is afforded by the *Dānasāgara* of Ballāla Sena, King of Bengal, in which Bhāgbata is repeatedly quoted. That work also quotes from the *Adi Purāna*, which Wilson supposed was composed within the last three centuries. Bopdeva, according to Colebrooke and Wilson, flourished in the 12th and 13th centuries; Ballāla lived in the 11th."

Of the Tantras some must be old. We meet with the word in the *Mahābhārat* as forming a part of study for the Rishis. The majority have emanated from Western Assam; and had a large influence on Buddhism.

These different productions show the fertility of the Hindú mind; and were subsequently followed by a mass of general and sectarian literature from the pens of those who rose to advocate particular creeds and forms of worship. The great champions of Bráhmaism were Kumárilá Bhatta, "who was a violent opposer of the Bauddhas;" Sankara Achárya, the great Vedántic Reformer, who flourished in the 8th or 9th century; Rámānuja, who lived in the 12th; Mádhaváchárya in the 14th; and Ballabháchárya in the 16th century A.D. The last three were Vaishnava teachers. Rámānujwás was the first to inculcate the Bhukti doctrine, finding perhaps that the abstract conception of the Deity was much too metaphysical for the popular mind. His example was followed by several others, including Chaitanya in Bengal. Of all the sects, the Vaishnavas have been most numerous next to the Bauddhas. We had 20 Vaishnavas, 9 Saivas, 4 Sáktas, 7 sub-divisions of Sikhs, and 10 miscellaneous sects.

There is one subject which demands some attention from us. Max Müller has expressed an opinion that the Vedas were orally preserved and were probably not reduced to writing till after the Bráhmaṇa and during the Sūtra period. While he admits that the art of writing was known here before the time of Alexander, he maintains that it was "never used for literary purposes before the time of Pānini;" who lived, according to him, about 350 B.C., or "before the first spreading of Buddhism in India."

Before the Bráhmaṇa period, the Hindús had made considerable advance in civilisation. They were not a nomadic, but an agricultural, a manufacturing, and a commercial nation. Astronomy was cultivated from the earliest period. From the examination of a calendar appended to the *Rig-Veda*, Colebrooke holds that it must have been regulated in the 14th century B.C. Bentley maintains that the Hindú lunar mansions were determined in 1425 B.C., and the solar zodiac by Parásara in 1150 B.C. The curriculum of study prosecuted during the Vedic period is contained in the list given by Nárada quoted above.

The Vedas were not only divided into chapters, but were also heterogeneous in their contents. How could so vast a record of diversified knowledge be orally preserved? How could astronomical and mathematical calculations and investigations, the agricultural and manufacturing and commercial pursuits, and the administration of law, be carried on without the aid of writing? Goldstücker has shown that Pāṇini lived before the Atharva Veda and before the Upanishads were composed, and quotes the authority of Yājñavalkya, who was a Vedic character: "The first three classes, the twice born, should see it (Veda), think over it, and hear it." We are informed that in the time of Pāṇini the cattle were marked on the ear. In Manu there is *distinct* mention of writing. Speaking of the Sūdra he says (X 100)—"Let him principally, follow those mechanical occupations as *joinery* and *masonry*, or those various practical arts as *painting* and *writing*, by which he may serve the twice-born." Again (in IX, 330 and 332), speaking of the Vaisya class he recommends them "to know the correct modes of measuring and weighing, and the various dialects of men." How could measuring, weighing, and the various dialects be learnt if figures and letters did not exist? The distinction between *sruti* and *smṛiti* is that the one is a revelation and the other a tradition; but it does not follow that *smṛiti*, though it professed to be based on the *sruti* in all its authorities, must be posterior to it, more especially as Manu was himself a Vedic character. In 1837, James Prinsep declared that "the most ancient mode of denoting letters in India was by the use of letters in alphabetical order." Thomas in his *Pathān Kings of Delhi* says,—"From whatever source derived, India is seen to have achieved in very archaic periods, either out of her marked indigenous aptitudes or her frequent chances of exotic inspiration, a very comprehensive system of weights and measures." Max Müller admits that when the modern plays were written, "writing was generally practised by women as well as men." This is borne out both by Vikramorvasī and by Sakuntalā. In the former the bark of the birch tree is mentioned as the writing material. In the latter the heroine herself exclaims,— "How should I commit to writing the song I have composed, the materials not being available?" In the *Buddhist Scripture* by S. Beal, high antiquity is given to the Sanskrit letters which the Buddhists consider "have remained the same from the creation of the world."

Vrihaspati, a Vedic personage, says :—

বাক্যনির্দেহপি সময়ে জাতিঃ সংজায়তে ব্রতঃ ।

ধাত্বানুস্মৃতি সূত্রানি পত্রানি কথিতঃ পুত্রা ।

"Whereas the memory becomes oblivious in six months, therefore Bidhātá in ancient times created letters on leaves."

We now proceed to consider what the state of the female culture was from the Vedic age.

The Aryas appear to have been contemplative and religious. They were domestic rather than social. Woman is described as "the light of the dwelling." The conception of a wife is contained in some of the early hymns:—"Go exhilarated to thy dear wife, be exhilarated with thy wife." "A wife, Indra! is one's home; she is a man's dwelling." In the hymns addressed to Ushá the invocation is "like a maid, triumphing in her (beautiful) form, thou goddess advancest to meet the god who seeks after thee, smiling, youthful, and resplendent." Again, "as a loving wife shews herself to her husband, so does Ushá smiling. She is doing service to the gods by causing all worshippers to awake and sacrificial fires to be kindled." There is a hymn in the Atharva Veda which is deserving of notice as it bears on the domestic life. "I impart you concord, with unity of heads and freedom from hatred; delight one on another as a cow at the birth of a calf. May the son be obedient to his father and of one mind with his mother: may the wife at peace with her husband speak to him honied words. Let not brother hate brother nor sister; concordant and united in will speak to one another with honied words." Originally there was no priest—no temple—no public worship. In every hamlet and town the worship was simply domestic. Every man prayed with his wife and was thus his own priest. In every house fire was constantly burning. One of the sacrifices was for the *pitris* or ancestors who were rendered vivid in "the mind's eye." The Rig-Veda says: "I believe I see with the mind as with the eye those who have aforetime offered the sacrifice." The hymns of Vasishtha to Varuna indicate a high spiritual elevation, and clearly show that he was praying for himself and for those around him. Bunsen observes that "the hymns not only display great beauty of language and imagery, but also discover a spiritual element, an inner purport of pure meditation," and the spirit which is lifted to the "All-good and All-wise and the Infinite one, who unrevealed to him" (the worshipper) "by nature, yet speaks to his inmost soul." It was the duty of every husband to make his wife recite the hymns once in the morning, once at noon, and once in the evening. The hymns may have been extemporaneous or otherwise. This discipline was encouraged by the Rig-Veda. It says, "He who perseveres, acquires spoil with his wife as his mate." That the constant association of the male and female minds in spiritual contemplation and religious rites was attended with good results is what the Rig-Veda bears testimony to, in one of its hymns alluding "to the piety and happiness of a married couple,"

From the following passage of Harita we find that the Vedic women were divided into two classes :—

• যত্নহারািতঃ দ্বিবিধাঃ স্ত্রিয়ঃ ব্রহ্মবা'দন্তঃ সদ্যোবধূশ্চ ।

তত্র ব্রহ্মবাদিনীনামুপনয়নং অগ্নীক্ষনং বেদাধ্যয়নং স্বগৃহেচ তৈক্ষ্য-
চাৰ্য্যতি । সদ্যো বধূনামুপনয়নং কৃত্বা বিবাহঃ কাৰ্য্য ইতি । তদনুগত্যনরং
বিষয়ং । পুৰাকল্পেণ নারীগণমৌজীবন্ধনমীদৃশ্যতে অধ্যাপনঞ্চ বেদ নাং
সাবিত্রী বচনং তথ্যেতি যথা ।

According to Harita, women are of two classes, Brahmadādinī and Sadyabadhū.

The Brahmadādinī should have the investiture, consecrated fire, sacrificial wood, the study of the Vedas and bogging at their own houses, and the Sadyabadhū should, after the investiture, be married. Such was the practice in the former age. In the former age women were permitted to be invested with the sacred thread, to teach the Vedas and study the Gāyatrī.

We thus see that women not only *studied* but *taught* the Vedas, and in this respect they claimed equality with the male preceptors. That they not only received instruction from their fathers and husbands but also from preceptors, is borne out by a passage in the Sāṅkhayana Sūtra which states that Adhvarya taught "the Apsarās, the young and fair maids by story." Now let us see what proofs we have of the female culture. During the Chhandas' period one of the hymns was composed by Romasā, daughter of Vrihaspati and wife of Vababhya; another by Lopamudrā, and another by Visvāvara, both of the Atri family. When Janaka of Mithilā invited theologians to meet in his palace, Gārgī, "a learned female," and the daughter of Vachakru appeared there and carried on "two separate discussions" with Yājñabalkya. The Mahābhārat gives the legend of a female ascetic named Salava having visited the Court of Janaka. She was a disciple of Panchika of the Parāsara gotra, from whom she had learnt Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and the practice of ceremonial rites without fruition. She said that she travelled in distant lands to extend her knowledge of God. Janaka, looking at her tender age and beauty, doubted her object, when she read to him a sharp and eloquent lecture on the subject of spirituality, telling him that he was not sufficiently advanced to appreciate her. Maitreyī, the wife of Yājñabalkya, was a woman of a high type. When he came to take leave of her, and his other wife, Kātyayani, proposing to divide his property between them, she exclaimed, "My Lord, If this whole earth full of wealth belonged to me, should I be immortal by it? What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal?"

Arandhatī, the wife of 'Vasishtha, is described as a model woman, both as regards intellectual culture and moral excellencies. The prayer for every Hindu woman is that she may be like Arandhatī. The *Yogavāsishtha Rāmāyana*, which contains Vedic legends, speaks of a female (in the 5th Swarga) who compared to Arandhatī was equal to her in every respect except in learning. In the 15th Swarga it relates the story of the wife of a Rishi who came to him in a forest with her son, saying that she had taught him "*all the Kulā and Vidyā*," or in other words, all external knowledge, but not that of God, and he was therefore unhappy. Atreyī, the wife of Atri, one of the eight founders of *gotras*, has been described in the *Uttara Rāmcharita*. She was travelling and was asked by a person where she was going. She replies—

"Amidst these forests dwells the great Agastya, and many other holy teachers here with him reside; from thence I come to learn the Vedas, having lately left the lessons of Vālmiki."

The *Mahābhārat* mentions that Assuri, a Rishi, was a disciple of Kapilā, and had a female associate and colleague named Kapilā. When Panchasika was admitted as his pupil, she brought him up as her son. We suppose it is the love of knowledge that moved certain females, married or unmarried, to seek for instruction from other Rishis, as is exemplified in the instances we have quoted. Speaking of *charans* or schools, Max Müller says, "Women are mentioned as belonging to a *charan*; for Kathī is the wife of a Brāhman who belongs to the *charan* or reads the *sūta* of the Kathas."

The Vedic women preferred a married life. The *Rig-Veda* says:—"Haste to those who are heroes as women who are wives;" and "happy is the woman who is handsome; she herself loves or chooses her husband among the people." If a woman were not married and had to stay at her father's, it was considered a misfortune. In Sukta VI. the following passage occurs:—"As a virtuous maiden growing old in the same dwelling with her parents claims from them her support." The Rishis originally married or not, as they pleased; but when they made up their minds to marry, they had only to call at the houses of their neighbours, where there were virgins, and ask for them. As to the idea of marriage, the *Chhandogya Brāhmaṇa* alludes to it in the address of the bridegroom to the bride, "Whatever is thy heart, the same shall be mine and my heart shall be thine." The marriage was solemnised by the bridegroom taking the bride by the right hand, and "pronouncing certain sacred formulæ." The bride was then carried "on a waggon drawn by two white oxen." Marriages were monogamous as a rule, but polygamy was not rare.

Sukta VII (R.V.) alludes to the present of "five hundred brides,"

Dīrghatamas, a Rishi, married ten daughters of a Rájá. Rájá Swanaya gave ten daughters to Kakshivat. Haris Chandra had a hundred wives. The Rishis not only married virgins but latterly the wives and widows of Rájnyas or Vaisyas if they did not claim the former. The wives of those Rishis who were monogamous, while sleeping in the hermitages, are described "as golden altars." We will now give a brief account of a few Vedic females, bearing on the social condition of the age.

Sávitri was the daughter of Aswapati. She was brought up in strict religious principles. When she was marriageable, her father told her that as he had received no proposals, she should make her own selection. Thus directed, she drives in a *rath* with her companions and arrives at a hermitage in a forest, where she sees Satyaván, son of the King of Avanti, reduced to poverty and playing with the sons of Rishis. Sávitri observes him closely, enquires and makes up her mind to be his wife. When she returns home she finds her father closetted with Nareda; who, on hearing of her selection, said that the bridegroom would die after one year. The father was unsettled and begged the daughter to change her mind. The daughter submitted that whether Satyaván lived or died, he was her husband and she could think of no one; adding that an act is in the first instance settled by the mind, it is then expressed by the lips, and is at last carried out. Her mind has already settled the act. After the marriage she came to her husband in the forest, she took off all her ornaments and put on a simple dress made of jungle bark as a token of sincere sympathy with the fallen condition of her father-in-law. She made herself dear to every one by her humility and other excellent qualities.—MAHABHARAT.

Sakuntalá was the daughter of Viswámitra, and brought up by Kanwa Rishi, in whose hermitage she lived. Dushmanta Rájá, who had been out on a hunting excursion, happened to meet her and prevailed upon her to be his wife. He left her and told her to follow him. Sakuntalá became the mother of a boy, with whom she afterwards appeared before her husband while he was seated in his palace surrounded by his ministers. She approached the Rájá; and in presenting the boy as his son introduced herself as his wife. The Rájá denied having married her. She said that there was not a greater sin than speaking an untruth while there was nothing more elevating than truth; truth constituted the essence of God. Nor was there a truer friend than a devoted wife who was a help in adversity, a father in religious rites, a mother in nursing, a solace amidst the fatigues of travel. She was afterwards received by the Rájá.—MAHABHARAT.

Devayáni was the daughter of the priest of the Daityas. Her

father had a disciple named Kacha who used to entertain her with music, song and dancing. After completing the course of his studies he came to take leave of her, when she could not refrain from expressing her fervent affection for him. Kacha replied that he could look upon her only as a sister.

On one occasion Devayáni, accompanied by Sarmishthá and other companions, went to the forest where there was a delightful tank. They all merrily swam and enjoyed the bath, after which Devayáni had a quarrel with Sarmishthá, who threw her into a well. Fortunately, Rájá Yayáti, who had been sporting in the jungle, happened to come near the well, in which he saw a girl, at whose request he lifted her by the hand; and after the reciprocation of civilities he left her. Yayáti's conduct made a deep impression on Devayáni. Subsequently, while she was promenading in the Chitra Kuta forest with her companions, Yayáti again made his appearance, when she offered him her hand. The Rájá hesitated as he was a Kshatriya and she a Bráhmaṇ. Devayáni was resolute; she came to her father, brought him to the forest, who finding that she had made her selection, overruled the question of caste and agreed to the solemnisation of the marriage.—MAHABHARAT.

Devahutí, the daughter of Manu, was brought by her father and mother to the hermitage of Karduma on the Bindusur, washed by the Saraswatí. Rájá Manu in due form proposed his daughter to the Rishi, adding that she had after due enquiry made up her mind to be his spouse. The Rishi agreed; but on the condition that, as soon as she became a mother, he would cease to be a householder. The marriage was celebrated: Devahutí made herself dear to Karduma by purity of thought and feeling and by affectionate words. After she became a mother, the Rishi came to take leave of her. She was powerfully affected and asked—if he left her from whom would she receive instruction? She begged that he would appoint some god-knowing person to instruct her. She added that, soon after her marriage, his ideas could scarcely reach her understanding. She hoped that she now appreciated them. Her son was named Kapila, with whom she had a philosophical conversation recorded in the 3rd Book of the Srimat Bhágvata.

Umá is mentioned in the Kena Upanishad. She is called Umá Hajmabati. It is supposed that she was the personification of "Divine Knowledge" which came from Himavat where scholars used to go and live to acquire this knowledge. Umá had several names; the Kumára Sambhava of Kálidása gives an account of her birth and marriage. She was known as the "mountain maid," and had taken a strong liking to Siva. She used to retire from the company of her parents, and being sequestered in a "bosky shade," dedicated her soul to "penance and prayer," in view to her union with

Siva. On hearing of this, Siva sent a proposal to her father while she was seated with him. She blushing consented to the proposal and "there were lotus petal in sweet maiden's guile." She is known as a model wife.

The Vedic women were dressed, we believe, much like the present Rājputnis. They had a ghāgrā or petticoat, a kanchuli or corset, and a dopati or scarf. In the R. V. there is an allusion to Indrāni's dress, "she has a head dress of all forms." There are several passages indicative of considerable attention having been paid to personal decoration.

In addition to domestic duties, the women had needle and other work. Weaving was very likely another occupation. One of the R. V. hymns says "the wives of the gods *wove* a hymn to India on his slaughter of Ahi." The following passage shows that the women had manual occupation. "I am a poet, my father is a doctor, and my mother a grinder of corn."—R. V.

There was perfect equality between man and woman in the household and in society. Max Müller says that "women were listened to when they were moved by an unknown spirit," the meaning of which is not clear; but we believe that women of elevated minds exercised considerable influence in society. The wives of the sacrificers of all classes, even of the King, cooked the meat and assisted in the preparation of the banquet. Beef which is now looked upon with horror by the Hindus, formed the chief food of the Vedic people. In the Mahāvira Charita, Vasishtha addressing Jamadagnaya says, "The heifer is ready for sacrifice and the food is cooked in ghee. Thou art a learned man, come to the house of the learned; favor us by waiting and participating in the sacrifice."

The Uttaram Charita says :—

"Why know you not,
The Vedas which enshrine our holy law,
Direct the householder shall offer those,
Who in the law are skilled, the horned animal,
And with it flesh of ox or calf or goat,
And the like treatment shall the householder
Receive from Brahmans learned in the Vedas."

Seclusion of the females was no characteristic of the Vedic period. The R. V. Sūkta iii, contains the following passage :—
"Like the splendidly attired wife of a man of rank, and distinguished in assemblies like sacrificial fire." The females "used to go out adorned for festivals or mingle in the midnight foray." There were social meetings of "a learned and literary character," such we believe as the one which Gārgi attended.

The Mahāvira Charita says :—"The great sages who have been invited to the sacrifice are assembling with their wives and sons from all quarters." Again, "Janaka's brother with his two daughters

comes to the hermitage of Viswámitra on the borders of Kausila. The Rishis are come with their wives."

The Chh Upanishad contains a story which shows that the females were unrestricted in the freedom they enjoyed. Satyakáma had to declare to what family he belonged, as he was desirous of becoming a religious student. Not knowing the name of his father, he asks his mother, Jabálá, what it is. The mother replies, "I do not know my son to what family thou belongest. Much consorting (with lovers) roving or serving in my youth, I got thee. Say therefore of thyself Satyakáma son of Jabálá." That the abuse of this liberty from which the age was not free was known and deprecated appears from Sukta vii. of the R. V :—" Remove sin from me like a woman delivered in secret."

Maidens walked in processions and were not married till they were grown up, which is also confirmed by the short biographies of the females we have given in the preceding pages. Gallantry was practised by making maidens prizes for specific heroic deeds—a custom which was followed by the military class in subsequent times under the name of *Swayamvara*. There is also mention of the military class containing females.

Sahamarana or the burning of the widows with the dead bodies of their husbands was not a Vedic usage. Dr. Wilson says "we have additional and incontestible proof that the Rig-Veda does not authorise the practice of the burning of the widows." The widow of the deceased had, however, to attend with married women the funeral of her husband. She was placed with his dead body on the funeral pile, and after the performance of certain ceremonies, she was brought down and was thus addressed by the priest :—

" Rise up O woman ! to the world of life,
Thou sleepest beside a corpse, come down ;
Thou hast been long enough a faithful spouse,
To him who made thee mother to his sons."

The married females attending had then to anoint their eyes with collyrium, when they were thus addressed :—

" The women now draw nigh with oil and butter,
Not widows they, proud of noble husbands ;
First to the altar, let the mother come.
In fair attire, and with no grief or tears."

There is a passage in the Taitrya Arukna of the Yajur Veda containing the following address to the widow by the younger brother, disciple or servant of the deceased :—" Rise up, woman, thou liest by the side of the lifeless, come to the world of the living, away from thy husband, and become the wife of him who holds thy hand and is willing to marry thee. This is a clear,

proof of the widows marrying during the Vedic period. And that the widow "was brought down" and not allowed to be burnt is also confirmed by her collecting the bones of her late husband after a certain time.

We will now proceed to consider what social changes were made with reference to woman during the post-Vedic period.

In the codes of Manu and other sages, woman appears to have formed an important subject for legislation. A daughter is described to be the "highest object of tenderness." Bhishma expressed his opinion that a son and daughter are alike. It was held that woman should never claim independence, but be under the protection of her father, husband, and son; and if her kindred on both sides failed, it was the duty of the king to protect her, and chastise her if led away from the path of virtue. Another restriction on her liberty was that she should have nothing to do with the texts of the Vedas; this we suppose followed because it was thought proper to do away with the investiture of females, which was a necessary qualification for the study of the Vedas.

The education provided for her was evidently of a nature to fit her to join her husband in the performance of religious rites, to manage efficiently all matters connected with domestic economy, involving sanitation, cooking, finance, and hospitality to guests. This resembles very much the education of the Athenian females; who, like Hindú women, had leisure-hour occupation in spinning, weaving, &c. Although in earlier times the Athenian females paid attention to the cultivation of literature and competed for public prizes, they had not in later times much to do with "book knowledge." We believe the Hindú women had more to do with "book knowledge." Although they were not permitted to read the Vedas, Wilson says that Vyás, "reflecting that these works (Vedas) may not be accessible to women and Śúdras and mixed classes, composed the Bhárata for the purpose of placing religious knowledge within their reach." Fergusson places the date of the Māhābhārat at about 1300 B.C. The estimation in which woman was held is expressed in several passages of Manu and other sages. "Women are truly pure. Women, and Goddesses of abundance, are equal. In whatever family the husband is contented with his family and the wife with the husband, in that family will fortune be abundant. The mouth of woman is constantly pure. Where the females are honoured, there the deities are pleased; but when dishonoured, then all religious rights become useless. Married women must be honoured and adored by their father and brethren, by their husbands and brethren of their husbands if they seek abundant prosperity." It is a question whether women were so unrestricted in their freedom during the post-Vedic as they were during the Vedic age. Possibly the liberty they enjoyed

during the Vedic times was in some cases carried to an excess, and attended with abuse ; as is exemplified in the story of Jahálá, and in the allusions in the Vedas to "conjugal infidelity and sexual immorality." To this cause we attribute a sterner tone in the *Smritis* as to making woman *more domestic and religious and less social*. We draw this inference from what has been laid down for woman as to her piety, austerity, and devotion to the husband, or to his memory if he be dead. Though the great object was the religious and moral elevation of the female mind, we meet with abundant proofs of woman not having been debarred from society or being doomed to seclusion. Every woman was addressed "Bhavati and amiable sister." When a woman was seen, "way must be made for her. Pregnant women, brides, and damsels should have food before all other guests." Although it was held that woman should always be under some male protection, the effect of it was totally destroyed by the following liberal legislation. "By close confinement at home, even under affectionate and observant guardians, they are not secure, but those women are truly secure who are guarded by their good inclinations." Manu says again—"Let women be constantly supplied with ornaments at *festivals and jubilees*." The woman who being forbidden—"addicts herself to liquor,—even at jubilees, or mixes in crowds at theatres," is punishable. A woman must not go forth without vesture, or move without her upper garment." Women married by the Brahma ceremony "are the purifiers of a company."

From a girl who makes advances to a man of high class, let not the king take the smallest fine ; but her who first addresses a low man, let him constrain her to live in the house well guarded." "Let no man converse, after he has been forbidden, with the wives of others."

When the husband is abroad, the wife should "continue firm in religious austerities, and avoid visits to the houses of strangers, crowds and jubilees ; and if she has no means, she must live by spinning and other blameless arts."

We gather from the above that the Hindú females were not secluded—they moved in society ; and that there was no change in the dress. When Sítá was carried away by Rávana, she threw off her head dress. When Jayadrata seized Draupadí, he laid hold of her upper garment.

Based upon the Vedic practice the marriage was divided into eight forms :—

1.—Brahma, the gift of the daughter to the bridegroom respectfully united.

2.—Daiva, the gift of the daughter to the officiating priest.

3.—Rishi, giving a daughter on receiving a pair of kine.

4.—Prajápatya, giving away the daughter with due honour and

with the paternal benediction, "May both of you perform together your civil and religious duties."

5.—Asura, when the bridegroom marries a girl, giving wealth to her father.

6.—Gandharva, marriage of a man with a woman from mutual desire.

7.—Rákshasa, the seizure of a maiden by force.

8.—Paisácha, the union with a damsel sleeping, drunk, or disordered in her intellect.

The first six forms were intended for the sacerdotal. The last four for the military, and the fifth, sixth, and eighth for two other classes. With reference to the fifth, there are several passages condemnatory of the sale of daughters or the receipt of any gratuity for their marriage.

Although contemporaneously with priestcraft, caste was established, and was progressing when Manu legislated, yet as to the selection of a wife he says it may be made from "the basest family." We find that in the *Mahábhárat*, Bhishma, in one of his lectures to Yudhishthira, supports this authority by inculcating that a good wife may be selected from low castes. According to Manu a good wife should be "bright as gems;" and possess "knowledge, virtue, purity, gentle speech, and various liberal arts." This we look upon as the mark to which every respectable girl was required to come up, and which necessarily constituted her education. As for the king's wife, she "must be adorned with beauty and best qualities." With reference to the age of marriage, it could not have been while the girl was an infant, as "she must be a consenting party," and she could not be given away or accepted "against her own consent." This point has been strongly enforced by Bhishma in the *Mahábhárat*. He brought three girls from Benares by force. One of them declared that at the *Swayambara Sabhá* whence they had been brought, she had set her heart on Salaya, and that she could not therefore marry Bhishma's step brother. After consultation with the Rishis, Bhishma sent her back to Benares. He became so clear on the point that he impressed upon Yudhishthira that if a king captures the daughter of his enemy, and wishes to marry her, he should give her one year's time to make up her mind, and that if she did not after that period consent, she should be sent away. The bridegroom was expected to be a proper match, as it was held that a damsel though marriageable should rather remain at her father's than be married to a "bridegroom devoid of excellent qualities." If the father did not take the initiative, the damsel made the selection herself. The supreme law on the subject of marriage was, "Let mutual fidelity continue till death." The wife was required to be firmly united with the husband, and to subject to him her heart,

speech and body to entitle herself to his mansion in the next world, and to be called in this "*sadhi*" or *good and faithful*. Unless the husband were an abandoned sinner or an heretical mendicant, she could not forsake him; while the husband was bound to maintain her if she was virtuous, "although he married not from inclination;" and if he forsook an affectionate wife, he was punishable. The punishment which a husband could inflict on the wife, if she were not affectionate, was to forsake her for one year; or for other faults to strike her with a rope or the small shoot of a cane. Another sage inculcated,—"*Strike not even with a blossom a wife guilty of a hundred faults.*"

Polygamy was restricted. Unless the wife were addicted to spirituous liquor, immoral, mischievous, hateful to her husband, barren, having no male children, incurably diseased, or wasteful of his money, he could not take another wife; and, if the first wife were virtuous and diseased, her consent was necessary for his second marriage.

This law was, we believe, a dead letter. Dasaratha married three wives; Bhishma obtained two wives for his step-brother and two wives for Pándu, and it is well known that Bhishma was learned in the Shástras and in reality a *Rajrishi*. Yudhishthira was instrumental in the marriage of Bhíma with Hirambí. Arjuna, who like Bhishma and Yudhishthira was well versed in Shástras, had several wives. Bigamy and polygamy were practised more from choice than from any sacred rule.

Intermarriages were tolerated. The Bráhmans could marry girls of the lower classes. The Kshatriyas could marry Bráhman girls; and if a high caste girl married a low caste man, she could not forsake him, although a Sádramí marrying a Bráhman was not received at certain sacred ceremonies. In accordance with the Vedic practice, every husband had to perform religious rites with his wife; and if he had several of different classes he had to carry on the worship with them in rotation according to their social precedence.

Although the Rishis married widows during the Vedic times, Manu declares that *the marriage of a widow is not even named in the laws concerning marriage*. In another passage he condemns the marriage of a Bráhman with a widow, and prohibits the practice altogether. Not satisfied with this prohibition, Manu includes under the category of widows, girls betrothed and not married in consequence of the death of their betrothed husbands. The cremation of the widows with their dead husbands is not mentioned in Manu's Code. He recommends widows to *emaciate their bodies, live on flowers, roots, and fruits, not even pronounce the name of another man, avoid every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully observe those rules of virtue followed by women-devoted*

to only one husband. The first mention of the burning of widows we find in Angira, one of the sage legislators who was a contemporary of Manu. He says :—

মৃতভর্তৃরি যা নারী সমারোহেদ্ধুতানং সাকঙ্কতী সমাচার্য স্বর্গ
লোকে মহীয়তে ।

ব্রহ্মস্রোবা কৃতস্রোবা মিত্রস্রোবাপি যো ভবেৎ ।

তং বৈশ্বনাতি সা নরী ইত, ক্রিসত্তাষিতং

সাধীনামেবনারীণামগ্নি প্রপ্রতনাদৃতে ।

নাশ্তো ধর্ম্মেহিবিজ্ঞোবা মৃতে ভর্তৃরি কহিঁচিৎ ।

The woman who burns herself after the death of her husband, gains like Arundhati, heavenly glory. She purifies the sins of the murders of the Bráhmans, the ungrateful, and the slayers of friends. For *sádhí* women there is nothing so meritorious as cremation after the death of their husbands.

The next mention is in the Kátyana Sutra, and the age of Kátyana is about the fifth century B.C.

The Rámáyana makes no mention of the practice. In the Mahábhárat we find that one of the wives of Pándu burnt herself with his dead body and that when Krishna died, several of his wives consigned themselves to the flame with his remains. But after the great war in Kurukshetra none of the numerous royal ladies burnt herself. The account of the funeral rite of Dranáchárya leaves some doubt as to whether his wife was burnt or not. The passage is as follows :—

"Behold the scholars of Dranáchárya, after chanting the Sáma Veda, performing his funeral rites, making his wife foremost and placing her on the right side of the pyre, are bending their steps towards the Bhágirathí."

The funeral ceremonies were not like those of the Vedic times, and were somewhat modified ; but they were not devoid of the female element as joint mourners. The females appeared publicly as participators in joy and sorrow.

The articles specified for Dasaratha's funeral rites are fragrant wood, jars of clarified butter, oil, corn, a large chaplet of sweet smelling flowers, sweet ointments, perfumes, incense, lignum aloes. All the citizens with their wives and daughters and the widows of Dasaratha attended the funeral procession. The widows uttered a "cry of distress" on seeing the blazing pile, and they surrounded Bharata when he poured out libations. When Bharata afterwards came to Ráma in the forest and reported his father's death, Ráma got the pulp of ingudie and jujubes and offered funeral libation with Sitá before him on the banks of the Mandákiní. Then after the great war between the Kauravas and the

Pándavas, when Yudhishtira gave orders for the burning of the dead bodies, Susarmá and others procured aloe, sandal, scented wood, ghee, oil, scents, silk cloth, costly wood, broken *rath* and other articles, and having carefully constructed the pyres began to burn, the dead bodies, while some of the mourners chanted the Rig and Sáma Vedas, and some deplored the loss of the deceased. After the cremation was over, all the mourners came to the banks of the Bhágirathí. They took off all they had on their bodies when the Kuru females burst into lamentations and with tears in their eyes offered libations to the memory of their husbands, brethren, sons, &c.

The prohibition of Manu, as to widows not being married again and leading an austere life, was evidently in force at this time.

Up to this time the cremation of the widow was rare, at least in Hustina. It must have grown out of the practice of self-immolation, recorded in the Rámáyana of Sarvarí, a female ascetic and a discipline of Matandá on the banks of the Pampá ; and it was continued subsequently, as we are informed of the burning of Calanus when Alexander was here.

The practice of the cremation of the widow, though not in existence when Ráma lived, nor in much use when Yudhishtira reigned, did not die away. In A.D. 66, Plutarch in his *Morals* says,—“ And among the Indians, such chaste wives as are true lovers of their husbands, strive and contend with one another for the fire, and all the rest sing forth for the happiness of her, who having the victory is burnt with her deceased husband.”

Manu appears to have bestowed special attention on woman. He inculcates equal care for women of different classes, *viz.*, barren, those who have daughters only, whose daughters have married other tribes who are without kindred, whose husbands are abroad, who are faithful widows, and who are afflicted with illness. Male relatives appropriating the property of women were punishable ; and capital punishment was inflicted for stealing “ woman, above all.” Base-born tribes sacrificing their lives for the preservation of a woman without reward, entitled themselves to celestial beatitude. As to inheritance, the married daughters get one-fourth of what the brother inherits from the father ; and an equal division of the material property, of which a married daughter gets one-fourth of her brother's allotment. Several sages enjoined “ that a mother should share equally with her sons, and Vyás has made the same provision for the wives of a father by whom he has no real issue.” The wife was so far free that if injured in her person or property, she could seek for redress, and the law of *coverture* did not form a part of the Hindú Code.

The *Tantras* following the *Smritis* are equally, if not more, emphatic on the subject of woman.

The Mahānīṭyān in the 8th Wulash says :—

"The daughter should likewise be nursed, educated with care, and married with gifts of money and jewels to a learned bridegroom. A wife should never be chastised, but nursed like a mother, and if chaste and devoted, should never be forsaken under most adverse circumstances.

Oh Mahishāsana! the man who keeps his wife contented performs every virtuous act, and is beloved by all."

The ideas of Rāma with regard to women were much in their favour. When he met Bharata, after his father's death, he asked him—"Dost thou behave politely to females? Are they duly protected by thee? Dost thou not esteem their conversation? Dost thou not communicate secrets to them?" To Viṣhisana he said, "Neither houses, nor vestments, nor enclosing walls, nor ceremony, nor regal insignia are the screen of a woman. It is her own virtue alone that protects her." When Yudhishtira visited Dhritarāshtra in his hermitage, one of his enquiries was—were the poor females taken care of in your kingdom and were women well received and respected in your palace?

Bhishma in the Mahābhārat has often expressed his idea of woman. He says,—“A mother does what is good in this and the next world. There is no greater treasure than a wife to the sick and suffering husband; she is his medicine, and for the acquisition of godliness there is not a better colleague. Even if the wife be unchaste and imprisoned, she is entitled to food and raiment. In reality woman has no faults. If she has, they are created by her husband. Women should never be taken away by force; and of all sins, killing women is most heinous.” Bhishma was also of opinion that if a king had no son, his daughter should sit on the throne. We shall show that this was followed in many cases.

We will now proceed to give a few abstracts of legends bearing on the social state of the Hindū females, and showing to what extent Manu was followed.

The story of Damayanti is too well known to need a repetition here. She was the tried and exemplary wife of Nala. She prayed for her union with him, having enquired after, and seen him in her apartments. Her becoming *Swayambara* again was simply to make Nala, from whom she had been separated, know where she was, that he might come there and be united to her. Of the Kshatriya women some married according to the Brahma mode, and some became *Swayambara*. Aja married Indhumati who was *Swayambara*. His son Dasaratha had the daughter of Kosala offered to him, and he married her; but his second wife Kaikeyi, whom he won, was a *Swayambara*. Janaka, King of Mithilā, made his daughter Sitā *Swayambara*.

She prayed that she should be the wife of Rāma, who bent the huge bow and was the successful competitor. The high character of Sītā as a model wife and a holy woman is well known. When she met the venerable wife of Atri and was highly complimented, she said that, although she was devoted to Rāma, and she tried her utmost to follow him, she doubted whether her soul mirrored the purity of his. When she solicited permission to accompany her husband into banishment, she said—

"A wife must share her husband's fate,
My duty is to follow thee
Wherever thou goest. Apart from thee,
I would not dwell in heaven itself.
Thou art my king, my guide,
My only refuge, my divinity."

After the death of Rāvana, when she appeared before Rāma, and when he cast reflections on her chastity, she "dashed away her tears," brought on by the interview, and rising "from the dust at his feet," addressed Lakshmana as follows :—

"Son of Sumitrā ! In thine eyes I see pity and trust of me. Build me a funeral pyre. Brother ; since I am tainted in Rāma's sight, 'tis time I should die."

Gāndhārī was a daughter of Sabala, King of Gāndhāra (Gandharie—about Kandahār). After the acceptance of the proposal, she was taken by her father to Hastinā, where she was married to its blind king Dhritarāshtra. Gāndhārī sympathised with what was holy and good, and was firm and resolute. From pure sympathy with her husband's blindness, she used to keep herself constantly veiled. When she was sent for by her husband to express her sentiments on the apprehended war between the Kurus and the Pāndavas, she thus addressed him : "Mahārāj ! Tell soon our dominion-loving son that he who is the destroyer of virtue, impure and haughty, should never gain legal power. What has already taken place compromises you. Though you are aware of Duryadhana's evil motives, you are tolerating him. That reprobate is now extremely subject to lust, anger, and grief—you cannot now convert him by force, you are suffering the consequences resulting from making over the kingdom to the ignorant, wicked, and ill-associated. How can you wink at a dissension with friends ? Who can think of a war if it can be got over by concession or peace ?" After the termination of the war, in which all her sons and grandsons had been killed, she came to the battle field with all the ladies of the family,—overpowered by grief, she had the fortitude to observe, that before the commencement of the war, she prophesied that virtue was always victorious, and that neither virtue nor vice disappeared without producing effects. After Yudhishtira was installed, he delegated the government of the country to Dhritarāshtra, Gāndhārī, and Bidura.

Kuntí was brought up by Kuntí Bhoja. While at her father's, she took a delight in entertaining guests. She became a *Swayambara*, and Pándu received her gairland. When Draupadí was married to her sons, she addressed her as follows :—

"Daughter! Be thou full of esteem and love to thy husbands, as Indráni was to India, Swáhá to Bibhasara, Rohini to Chandra, Damayantí to Nala, Bhadíá to Baiswánara, Arundhatí to Vasishtha and Lakshmi to Náráyaṇa. Be thou the mother of heroes. Employ thyself with thy husband in religious service, and thy prosperity will be unlimited. Oh daughter! employ thy time in looking after the guests, visitors, the virtuous, children, and the elders. By thee the Rájás of the principal cities of Kura, Jangala, &c., will be installed."

Kuntí's next address to Draupadí was when she was about to proceed with her husbands, beggared by the game at dice, to pass twelve years in exile and one year in disguise.

Kuntí said—"Do not mourn because misfortune has overtaken thee. Thou knowest well the duties of the females. Possess good qualities, be faithful and pure in thy acts."

The sentiments expressed by her in her conversation with Krishna, when he came to negotiate for peace, shew also the high culture of her mind.

"Men can exalt themselves by high character, but not by wealth or learning. To suffer is to wash away our sins. This is followed by happiness, the fruit of virtue."

When Draupadí became a *Swayambara*, it was proclaimed that whoever would bend an enormous bow and by it "shoot five arrows simultaneously through a revolving ring into a target beyond," would win her. When she was brought to the Sabhá, Dhristadumna informed her of the names of those who had been assembled. After the failure of several Princes, Karna rose, when Draupadí publicly said,—“I will not marry a carpenter's son.” Arjuna rose, tried, succeeded, and won the bride. When she was taken to Kuntí, the latter inadvertently said to her sons,—“What you have acquired should be your common property.” What emanated from a mother must be done. The propriety of the marriage of one woman to five men was discussed at the Drupada Rájá's palace where Kuntí was present, and took a part in the discussion. Vyás supported Kuntí, and sanctioned the proposed marriage. It appeared that during the Vedic times, the daughter of a Rishi was married to Prachata, and his nine brothers; and another woman of the Gautama line was the wife of a hundred Rishis. But these were exceptions, they are not alluded to in the Rig-Veda, and were quoted to legalise the marriage of Draupadí with the five Pándavas.

Draupadí is described as an educated lady, and according to her

own account she used to receive instruction from a Bráhmaṇ teacher, while on the lap of her father. The Bana Purva records her two conversations ; one with Yudhishtira, on forgiveness and the Providence of God, in which she shows great powers of observation ; and the other with Satyabhama, wife of Krishna, who came to her while she was living in the forest with her husbands. The subject was, on the best way of making the husband attached to the wife. Draupadi said that she conducted herself humbly, serenely, and devotedly to her husband ; she daily cleaned the house, utensils, cooked and offered meals at the appointed time. While at Indraprastha, she took care of Kuntí, saw numerous Bráhmaṇs and maid-servants fed and clothed ; she also looked after the servants, cowherds, and shepherds. She took care of the treasury, and gave orders on all matters connected therewith. She performed all her duties with every regard to truth, but unmindful of her personal comfort. She added, the faithful wife cannot attain happiness unless she practises self-denial. Do what I have told you, and before strangers remain quiet, but true to your convictions, avoiding excitement and thoughtlessness, and make those your friends who are virtuous and devoted to their husbands. When Jayadrata seized and carried her away, he was pursued by the Pándavas ; she had then the generosity to advise him to lay down arms and implore forgiveness.

The marriage of Subadhrá, sister of Krishna, was by seizure of the maiden by Arjuna at her brother's instigation near the Raibuta mountain, where she had gone to perform certain religious ceremonies. The mind of this lady is shown in her lamentation for her son after he was killed in the battle. The lamentation was addressed to his spirit, and she prayed for its being associated with the holy and heroic in the heavenly sphere.—MAHABHARATA.

Rukmini who was to have been married to Sisupála of Chedi, was so captivated with Krishna that she sent him a letter, asking him to take her away on a certain day when she would come out to observe some festival.—BHAGVATA.

The women we have alluded to, belonged to the military and rich classes. Let us see what the moral tone of the females of the humbler class was. The Adiparva contains a legend which throws some light on the subject. There was a cannibal in the city of Ekachakra, who used to appear for a human being from every family in rotation. It came to the turn of a Bráhmaṇ who had a wife and a daughter. The Bráhmaṇ was about to offer himself as a victim. The wife remonstrated and begged to supply his place. She said that if she died leaving him, she would have undying glory in the next world. But if he died, *how is the daughter to be directed to the path of the ancestors?* The daughter urged that she was prepared to go instead of her father and mother, as her life was not so valuable.

The Aswamedha Parva contains a legend illustrative of female self-denial. There was a Bráhmaṇ beggar in Kurukshetra. He had a wife, a son, and a daughter-in-law. The family starved when no alms was received. On one occasion, after a fast of several days, the Bráhmaṇ got a quantity of barley which was boiled and was about to be divided, when a hungry guest appeared. The Bráhmaṇ immediately welcomed him and gave him his share. The guest eat but was not satisfied. The wife of the Bráhmaṇ readily offered him her share. This grieved the loving husband, and he felt exceedingly pained for the starvation of the wife, who soothed him down by observing that their wealth, material and spiritual, was *united*. The guest finished the second dish, but again complained of hunger. The son gave him his share, but it did not satisfy him. The daughter-in-law then came forward with her share, when the father-in-law was again distressed, but she observed that she was bound to do what would ensure after-happiness.

The Smritis made no change in the dress of the females, which our previous quotations will show. But in regard to food, an injunction was given, of total abstinence from flesh meat, discontinuance of the slaughter of animals and of cruelty in any form to sentient beings.* This change we attribute to the excessive *beef eating* and the slaughter of animals during the Vedic period. We do not, however, see that this was attended to; as Draupadī states that Yudhishtira used to sacrifice cattle, and that he and other Rājās performed the *Aswamedha* (sacrifice of horses). The dishes of Dhristarastra even when he was about to embrace ascetism consisted of fish, meat and he had also wines of different kinds. And it appears that several ladies dined with him in the same hall. There is a passage attributed to Suvadrā which speaks well of those "who refrain from wine, flesh, liquors, excitement and lying;" and Bhishma has often dwelt on the propriety of abstaining from animal food, which entered subsequently into the creed of the Vaishnavas.

What we have shown from the Smritis, and the short accounts of certain females, clearly show that the post-Vedic females were not secluded. But as it is an important point, we will give a few legendary proofs from the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārat.

When Rāma returned from banishment, the ladies of his family came out to meet him. When he was installed, Sitā was with him in the Court hall. When the Pāṇḍavas and Kurus showed their proficiency in archery, the ladies were seated in the theatre. While the Pāṇḍavas were living in the forest, Duryadhana, accompanied by his brothers, the Rānis and the members of some other

* Manu, iv. 67 and 68, v. 46 to 49 and 51, viii. 296.

families, passed by them. When Uttara and Arjuna gained a victory, the daughter of Birát and other ladies came out to receive them in a procession. The following description of Yudhishthira's entrance into the palace, after the great war, throws some light on the freedom of the females not belonging to royal families.

"When Yudhishthira, accompanied by his brothers and the ladies and others, was about to enter Hastiná, the royal road was perfumed with *dhupa*, the palace with varied fragrant sand flowers, and festooned with garlands. The gate was graced by beautiful damsels with new *kulsis* filled with water. The Rájá was surrounded by friends, and he entered the city in the midst of eulogistic chantings of the bards. The handsome buildings bordering on the royal road were quaking under the weight of the female visitors, who with modesty and meekness cheering the Pándavas addressed Draupadí in complimentary words, which were so enthusiastic and loud that they reverberated through the length and breadth of the city."

On the occasion of the coronation of Yudhishthira, Kuntí and Gándhárí were present in the Hall; and Draupadí sat on an elevated seat with the Rájá. When Yudhishthira performed the Aswamedha, there was a separate compartment for elderly ladies; and young damsels full of joy promenaded in the place. The *Mágh* in Book V. states that the Rájás who had been invited to Yudhishthira's Rájasuya Yagna were travelling with their *wives on horseback*. We do not, however, find any mention of it in the *Mahábhárat*; and the only inference we can draw is that if the Hindú ladies did not ride on horseback when Yudhishthira lived, they did so when the *Mágh* was written. The practice was apparently followed subsequently, which is evident from Scott Waring's testimony.

The *Puránas* show that what the Smritis inculcated with regard to woman, was substantially carried out. We have already stated that among the qualifications of a wife, Manu mentions "liberal arts." This no doubt includes music, vocal and instrumental, and dancing. There are ancient works on music; and the *Mahábhárat* states that Arjuna gave instruction to the females of Birát's family in music and dancing. We have already adverted to the saying of Bhishma that, where a son does not exist, the daughter should occupy the throne. Prem Deví was on the throne of Delhi before the Muhammadan invasion. In Nepál three females reigned at different times. Rájendra Lakshmi is described as a "woman of extraordinary character and talents." In Ceylon several Ránis reigned from time to time. In Rajputáná females governed as regents. Colonel Tod, speaking of the Bundi Queen says—"Her sentiments showed invariably a correct and extensive knowledge, which was equally apparent in her letters, of which he had many, and he could give many similar instances."

In 327 B.C., Alexander and Porus fought together. The Greek

rule in Asia lasted for 200 years. It is supposed that Alexander afterwards married a daughter of Porus.* In 307 B.C., Seleucus succeeded Alexander partially, and had his daughter married to Chandragupta. Megasthenes and Onesicritus went to him as an embassy; and the former resided for several years at Pataliputra. This must have brought on some fusion of the Greeks and the Hindús. To the Hindús engaged in theological and philosophical enquiries, or in political and commercial pursuits, the Greek language must have been more or less known. It is supposed that before Alexander, Pythagoras came here and learnt from the Bráhmans the doctrines of metempsychosis.† Arrian and Pliny state that the Bráhmans presented to the Greek authorities lists of kings who had reigned in India. Ptolemy says that "in the Northern Provinces of India the Greek language was not utterly forgotten;" and that the spread of it must have been from the Panjáb to Behar. We are also told that a Yavana Achárya or a Yavan Játika travelled to Ionia and wrote a work on astronomy. It is stated in the Dabistan that Callisthenes sent to his uncle a technical system of logic (náya), which was the basis of the Aristotelian system. We also observe a close affinity between Aristotle's theory of the soul as regards its organism and the Vedánta-darsana; and Plato's ideas as to the detachment of the soul from the world of sense constituting the true subjective condition bear an analogy to the Sánkhya philosophy. The Greek kings as well as the Scythians adopted a language closely allied to the Sanskrit. The inscriptions for more than two centuries during the Greek and Scythian connection invariably contain the Greek with a vernacular translation. The coins of the Satrap Kings of Sauráshtra have an imperfect Greek and Sanskrit inscription, while those of the Guptas (2nd to 4th century A.D.) have an emblem of the Greek and Páli, showing the gradual disappearance of the Greek from the Indian coins. The Greeks adopted the Indian symbol of Swastika, which the pottery from Kamiras and the prototype of Crete show. The Scythian coins exhibit Greek and Hindú divinities, and those under the Yuchis have an image of Siva and the Nundi Bull. The affinity between the Greeks and the Hindús was so great as regards the languages, literature and religion, that the process of giving and receiving must have been reciprocal." Váráha Mihira in his Brihat Samhitá (astronomy) says,—“The Greeks indeed are foreigners, but with them this science is in a flourishing state.” We find that the later Greek physicians availed themselves of the Hindú medical works.

The intercourse appears to have been kept up. Hindú ambassadors were sent to Augustus Cæsar, to whom a Porus

* Madras Journal of Science and Literature, vol. xvi. † Grote says that this doctrine taught by Pythagoras had its origin “in the Egyptian and Oriental religions.”

wrote a letter in Greek. In the 2nd century A.D., there were Greek and Roman agents in the eighty-four ports of Balhara.

This fusion did not at all affect the freedom of the females. In the *Mudrá Rákshasa*, Chandragupta says :—

“Why are not all the citizens with their wives abroad and merry making?”

The following passage shows the commingling of the races.

“The Khasa troops and men of Magādhā and my attendants are the vanguard. The Yavana and Gāudhāra forces march in the centre and the Huna cohorts.

“The troops, Chedi, Kiras and Jallas form the rear.”

The Yavana means the Ionian or the Asiatic Greek, and the Sakas the Asiatic Scythians.

It was customary with the Hindú Rájás to have female attendants as sanctioned by Manu ; and this custom the Muhammadans afterwards imitated. One of the Nátaks mentions a *Yavana* female attendant, which shows that the Greek females were employed by the Hindús. The Greek accounts of the Hindú females are meagre. They bear testimony to their chastity, and to the fact of no money being given or taken in marriage. As to the Germanes or Sarnames (the Buddhists?) they permitted women “to share in their meditations, but on condition of strict chastity.” According to Apollonius of Tyana the Bráhmaṇ country lay between the Hyphasis and Ganges. He says,—“From the trees on its (Hyphasis’s) banks, the people obtain an unguent with which marriage-guests besprinkle the bride and bridegroom, and without which no marriage is considered complete or pleasing to Venus.” Another account of India written at the close of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century A.D., by desire of Palladius, says,—“They” (Bráhmans) “were not like a society like our monks, but a race, born Bráhmans. They lived near the Ganges and in a state of nature. They had no domestic animals, tilled no land, and were without iron or house or fire or bread or wine. They worshipped God ; and had no slight, but not a thorough, knowledge of the ways of Providence. Their wives were located on the other side of the Ganges ; they visited during July and August, the coolest months, and remained with them forty days. But as soon as the wife had borne two children, or after five years if she were barren, the Bráhmaṇ ceased to have intercourse with her.”

Buddhism, which had assumed a distinct form in the middle of the third century B.C., became powerful during the Greek connexion with India. Hindú women embracing Buddhism became prominent. They not only began to frequent places of public worship, but came forward to join the clerical body and were admitted as nuns. *Maha Prajāpati* was the first female admitted to the order. The daughter of Asoka, *Sanghamitta*, also entered the church, taking the usual vow of celibacy. She went to Ceylon

to ordain the princess in compliance with the request of her brother Mahendra, who had been sent there to propagate the religion, he being of opinion that a male priest could not ordain a female. Gautama had five hundred females admitted into the order. The nuns were, however, restricted in their liberty in holding communication with male priests. Females of rank such as Mahá Máya, the mother of Gautama and Mísáka, were moving "freely in society;" while other classes of females not only moved from place to place but carried on discussions with men and took part in secessions. There are several notices of educated females. Visákhá, a most celebrated Buddhist lady, resided in Sakita or Ayodhyá. In the *Dulva* it is stated that a celebrated Bráhman of Nalada had a daughter named Shariká. "She was instructed in letters and overcame her brother in a dispute." Dugamá, a young girl of Champá, was married to the son of a chief officer in Kosala. She is described as the "model of everything modest; prudent, wise, frugal, and in every respect accomplished." She received her education from her mother. Her father-in-law addressed her as follows:—"Your mother has been wise in having given you such enigmatical instruction, but you are more than she in having understood and practised her enigmatical advice."

Buddha's opinion as to females leading the religious life was—"Be careful; do not permit females to enter upon my law and become Samarans." He said "what is named woman is sin," i.e., that she is not vice but sin; and "it is better for a priest to embrace the flame than to approach a woman, however exalted her rank." Mendicants and novices were not permitted to look at a woman. Priests were not allowed to visit widows, grown-up virgins, or women whose husbands were abroad. If a woman had a fall and required to be lifted up by the hand, no Buddha would help her, because it was considered sinful to touch a woman, whether she lived or died. The *Patimokhan* forbids not only "the contact with the person of a woman," but "impure conversation with a woman," sitting on the same seat with her, reclining with her on the same place, being alone with a woman, accompanying her on a journey, and preaching more than five or six sentences to a woman except in the presence of a man who understood what was said. And yet according to *Hinan*, Buddha accepted the invitation of Ambasali, the celebrated courtesan of Vaisali, "who took her seat on one side of him."

Buddha inculcated celibacy as a great virtue; but if a man could not continue as a celibate and took a wife, he committed no sin. Polygamy was denounced by Buddha: but he had "inferior wives numbered by thousands." The following story will show how marriages were brought about.

Singhavi, King of Kasila, wished to have his son of sixteen years married, and was in search of a girl "of the most kingly

descent, endowed with the sixty-four marks of perfection and the five great beauties perfect in maidens, and steadfast in observing the five and the eight commandments." While Mâyâ was promenading in her garden, eight Brâhmans came to her and made the proposal, giving a full description of the prince—to which she listened, and half consenting requested them to see her father and arrange with him. *

We also find that when Vijaya, King of Ceylon, sent a message to King Panderwoo to send his daughter as his queen, the request was complied with, and she "embarked, accompanied by seven hundred daughters of the nobility." In the interesting work of Schlagentweit, he says,—“Women are also allowed to embrace the monastic life, and we read of female mendicants, the *Bhikkhunes*, who have devoted themselves already in the earliest youth of Buddhism with the permission of the founder of the faith.” Gerald was told “that it was mostly the ugliest women, who having little chance of getting husbands, retire to convents.”

The Buddhist females were clad in robes. The King of Kosala presented to each of his five hundred wives “a splendid robe.” The Bhilsa monument shows the Buddhist female drapery—“along flowing vest resembling that which we see in Grecian sculpture.”

Knox, speaking of the maids, says that they were “dressed up finely.” It appears that in the hall where the *bana* was read, ordinary females were kept occupied. Some brought the cotton-wool, others cleaned it, and some prepared it. Buddhism like Vedism commenced without priests and without the distinction of caste. The organization of the priesthood is supposed to have commenced at the first convocation, and reached the culminating point at the third. The priests were not allowed to marry; and though restricted in their communication with females, it appears from one of the Nepál Bauddha tracts that while praying they were not unmindful of the females. In the address to the spirits of heaven and goblins damned, the following words occur:—“Let all hearing my invocation, approach with their wives and children and associates.” Fa Hian, who came here in A.D. 399, says that “the females were kept down and ordered to follow certain precepts.” He cites the instance of brothers marrying non-uterine sisters in the case of the sons of one of the Kings of Potala settled near the hermitage of Kapila. As to caste, he says that although the principle in the selection of the chief of religion was the moral merit, inasmuch as Sâkya was a Kshatriya, and his successor a Vaiya, and his successor a Sûdra, yet the son of the King of Kapila by the daughter of a slave was not admitted into the church. When he entered, the cry was—“The son of a slave dares to enter and be seated here!”

Hsiuan Thoang, who came here subsequently, speaks of a female

kingdom on the north of Brahmaputur. It is also alluded to in the Purānas and Poems, and is traced to Assam and Bhutan.

The Jains are by no means inferior to the Buddhists in the immensity of their literature—which has been brought to notice by Colonel Tod. They had also nuns who lived by themselves. In the Kalpa sūtrā, Sītā is named “among the faithful wives.” There are strict rules as to the association of the females with the males. In the Nava Tatva, among the things to be patiently borne is “the absence of female society;” and the Ascetics are not to touch woman. In this respect the Jains were evidently like the Buddhists but unlike the Brāhmins.

The only Jain female prominently mentioned is Sawalinga, daughter of Padma, an opulent merchant of Paitham (Tagara) on the Godāvarī. She had been sought for by a person, and her father had agreed to the proposal. But when he came, the girl who had been associated with Sadivaah as *pupils of the same tutor*, and for whom her feeling had ripened into affection, made arrangements for eloping with him. At the appointed place and time the lover unfortunately fell into a deep sleep, and the girl not wishing to wait any longer wrote her name on the palm of his hand and went away.

In the drawings of the excavated temples of Ajantā “there are groups of women in various attitudes, particularly in the one of performing tapasyā or religion on the Asan Siddha;” and also “of a female worshipper of Buddha” surrounded by a group, and a Brāhmin among them whom she is teaching.

The duration of the Muhammadan administration in India was from A.D. 1176 to A.D. 1761. During this period of 595 years the fusion of the Muhammadans and Hindūs was marked. We find that in the early part of the Muslim rule, the Muhammadans were indebted to the Hindūs for instruction in agriculture, manufacture, revenue management, and medicine. The language then in use was the *Hindūī*; and until the Hindūs held important appointments under the government of Akbar, the cultivation of the Persian by the Hindūs was limited. But from that period it progressed; the numerical strength of the Hindū Persian scholars and of their Persian works increased; and it is the Hindūs who had the principal share in the creation of the Hindi or Hindustānī.

The marriage of Hindū women by Muhammadan Emperors commenced with the father of Fīrūzshāh, whose mother Naila was the daughter of Rājā Malla Bhattī.

Howell states that when the Hindū Rājās submitted, to Tamerlane, “it was stipulated that the Emperors should marry a daughter of Jet Singh’s house, and that the head of the house should be Governor of Bengal.”

The practice of the Muhammadan Emperors marrying Hindū

women, as a matter of policy calculated to preserve a good understanding, began with Akbar.

Jodh Bái was his wife, and she was the mother of Jahángír.

In A.D. 1320, the Hindú influence was predominant. Khausrú took to wife Dewal Deví, the widow of the late Emperor Kutb-ud-dín Mubárák. He was so much *Hinduified* that the Kuráns were "used as seats, and pulpits degraded into pedestals for Hindú idols."

During the administration of Akbar, the Hindú influence was also predominant. The Emperor had private meetings with the Bráhmans at night. One of them taught him, and another related the mythological tales of the Hindús. The facetious Bírbal, another Bráhman, took so much possession of the Emperor's mind, that he prevailed upon him to prohibit the eating of beef and order prayers from Hindú works to be twice offered to the sun. Abulfazl was charged with the duty of maintaining the sacred fire day and night; and took a part in the *homa* performed by the Hindú ladies of the palace. The marriage of Salím (Jahángír) with the daughter of Bhágaván Dás was performed at the Rájá's house and in the presence of the Emperor, according to the Hindú form. Orders were given restricting every Hindú to one wife unless she proved faithless. Widows were permitted to marry, and such as were young were not permitted to be burnt. But this order was subsequently modified to this effect, that if the burning were voluntary and not compulsory, it should be allowed. No Hindú female was allowed to change her religion, if the cause were that she was in love with a Muhammadan.

There were several other Emperors who had Hindú wives, but this intermarriage was one-sided, as no respectable Hindú married or was permitted to marry a Muhammadan girl. Jahángír had a strong opinion on the subject. He said—"Marrying a Hindú girl is not so bad, but to give one's daughter to a Hindú! Lord protect us against the machination of the evil one." The Muhammadan influence on the conversion of the Hindús was successful, and several of the converts were the founders of dynasties in some parts of India. After Akbar, Dara Shikoh encouraged the Sanskrit literature, and had some of the Upanishads translated into Persian.

The burning of the Hindú widow under the Muhammadan Emperors was evidently on the increase.

When Mán Singh died, in the reign of Jahángír, sixty of his 1,500 wives were reported to have burnt themselves.

There are some Muhammadan women deserving of notice.

In A.D. 1285, Sultáná Rasiáh, the eldest daughter of Altamsh, reigned. She "possessed many talents and great virtues." In 1265, Muhammad II. had only one queen, who was employed in performing "every homely part of housewifery." In A.D. 1611,

Núr Mahal or Núr Jahán cut a conspicuous figure as the queen of Jahángír. She exercised considerable influence on state affairs, as well as on matters connected with her sex for a period of twenty years. To her is attributed improvements in female drapery and the preparation of the attá of roses. Her extempore verses used to captivate her husband. In his military exploits she acted as his guardian angel, and herself showed uncommon heroism. Jahángír in his Memoirs says, "There is scarcely a city in which the Princess has not left some structure, some spacious garden, as a splendid monument of her taste and magnificence."

In A.D. 1628, the three daughters of Sháh Jáhan made themselves conspicuous. The eldest, Jahánara, exercised great influence on the father. She was "lively, generous and open." The second, Roshanrai Begam, was "acute, artful, and intriguing." The third, Suríá Baner, was distinguished for gentleness and serenity. The eldest daughter mediated on behalf of the Persians when they fought with Aurangzebe, and appeared publicly on the occasion.

Mamullah, the widow of Zár Muhammad Khán, the Nawáb of Bhopál, who lived in A.D. 1778, was respected by both Hindús and Musalmáns. She possessed a judgment which after severe trials was found to be sound, and a heart for which she was called the "lady mother."

In later times Begam Sumbro lived. By her marriage with an European she was *Anglicised*: she was an able and good woman. Lord W. Bentinck's letter to her bears strong testimony to her high character. She is called "the solace of the orphan and widow."

Besides the above we find a host of Muhammadan poetesses, an account of whom is to be found in the *Nakshá-i-Dukhrushá* by Bábu Janmejaya Mitra, father of Bábu Rájendralála Mitra.

We subjoin a list of the following poetesses who lived at different times and contributed to the Urdu poetical literature: Atab Begam, Behúr and Roshiní Ján of Lukhnou; Bhangan of Páni-pat; Begam Ján, the daughter of Nawáb Karuddín Khán; Began, daughter of Mirzá Bábar, belonged to the sanáná of Bahádúr Sháh of Dehli; Beni Ján of Benares; Begam, daughter of Nawáb Intizamud Dowla and wife of Asafridaula of Oudh; Begam, daughter of Arnadul Mulk Gházi-uddín Khán, Mutatabala of Baréli; Beranija of Dehli; and Nurjehan Mirasin of Farukábád.

We will now offer a few remarks on the state of female society during the Greek connexion, the prevalence of Buddhism, and the Muhammadan administration in India.

We have stated that the age of Vikramáditya was a great age for the encouragement of learning. The wife of Kálidása is said to have had much influence in causing him to become a

deep scholar. The Ríni of Karnat was also a learned lady, and she used to converse with Pandits on different subjects. About this time we believe another lady lived, *viz.*, Khoná, who was acquainted with astronomy, and is well known by the *bachans* she has left behind. We believe from this time the rage for *Swayambara* marriage subsided, and the love of heroism was altered into a love of letters. It became a custom with many females not to marry any one unless he was found more learned than herself.

We have already said that a large portion of the Poems and plays appeared in the early part of the Christian era. In these, women have been, to quote the words of Dr. Wilson, "invariably described as amiable, high principled, modest, gentle, accomplished, and intelligent," and as "exercising a very important influence upon men and as treated by them with tenderness and respect. Dr. Wilson sums up by concluding that "in no nation of antiquity were women held in so much esteem as among the Hindús."

The "Toycart" in alluding to female education says—

"Nature is woman's teacher, and she learns more sense than man—the pedant gleans from books."

The Dasa Kumár Charita is a portraiture of Hindú Society anterior to the Muhammadan conquest. The youth of both sexes of the royal and military classes could then form matrimonial connexions by the Gandharva form—the *Swayambara* system having apparently died away; but from Padmávatí's letter to Prithviráj it does not appear that the practice of the seizure of the bride at her request was extinct. She wrote him to take her away as Krishna had taken away Rukmini.

Padmávatí is described as knowing "sixty-four arts" and "fourteen sciences."

Bhavabhuti lived in the 8th century A.D. His patron was Yasovarenaan of Kashmir. About this period the Hindú manners were unchanged in some respects. Females of influence appeared in public, and enjoyed liberty at home.

The Dowager Queen of Kashmir requested Sámadeva, to compose *Katha Sarit Ságara*, about A.D. 1088. In one of the tales it is stated, that "when the married couple return to Kusambí, the young bride persuades her husband to throw open the doors of the inner apartment and allow free access to his friends and associates, observing that 'the honour of women is protected by their own principles; and when they are corrupt all precautions are vain.'" We learn also from the same work, that "Katyana Vararuchi was able to repeat to her mother an entire play after hearing it once at the theatre." Although the story is given in the work referred to, yet as we have already stated Katyana lived about the fifth century, B.C.; and these scattered notices

serve to show the continuity of the female culture. In the Bihāt Kathā it is stated that Vísabadattá disapproved of the selection of her husband by her father, and eloped with Udyana. When the Malavika Agnimitra appeared subsequently, there was a degeneration in the Hindú manners; yet the drama speaks of a queen being appointed to arbitrate as to the pre-eminence of two Pandits, one of whom had a female scholar who was also a songstress.

We have observed that there is mention of the Puranas and even of the Bhárata or Mahābhárata in the Sūtras of Asvalāyana; but we doubt much whether the existing Mahābhárata in its integrity is the work referred to. Neither the Rāmāyana nor the titles of any of the other Purānas are alluded to in the Vedas. But there are still grounds for thinking that the Rāmāyana was anterior to the Mahābhárata. With regard to the other Purānas, they were apparently written to counteract the effects of Buddhism, to uphold the leading teachings of the Vedas and *darsanas*, and to supply a *finite* God to the popular mind. The Vedic gods were laid aside. The infinite God of the Upanishads was much too lofty. Vishnu was the God of the Brahma, Padma, Vishnu, Śrībhāgvata, Nārada, Brahma, Vaivatta, Barāha Bāmana and Garura Purānas. The Vāyu, Agni, Bhavishya, Linga, Scandha, Kurma, Matsya and Brahmaṇḍa took Siva as the God. Not satisfied with the Male God, the Mārkaṇḍa established Durgā or Kālī as the great Female Power. This must have led to the multiplication of the Tantras inculcating the worship of the Sakti during the Muhammadan invasion. While the Tantrical practices were attended with abuse, they contributed to the elevation of the females as embodying the *Sakti* principle in the estimation of men.

The "Vishnu Purāna speaking of the qualifications of a wife, says:—"The girl must not be vicious or unhealthy, or one who has been *ill brought up*." Of the queen Saiva, the wife of Sata-dhana, it says she was a "woman of great virtue; she was devoted to her husband, benevolent, sincere, pure, adorned with every female excellence, with humility and discretion. The Rājā and his wife daily worshipped the God of Gods, Janārdana, with pious meditations, oblations to fire, prayers, gifts, fasting and every mark of entire faith and exclusive devotion." The same Purāna states that Saubāri, a Rishi, came to Mandhatrī of the military class, and begged him to give one of his daughters to him in marriage. The Rājā looked at his emaciated figure and replied—"Grave Sir! it is the established usage of our house to wed our daughters to such persons only as they shall themselves select from *suyōgas* of fitting rank." The Rishi was afterwards admitted into the inner apartments, and won the affection of the princesses.

These extracts show that when the Vishnu Purāna was

written, female culture, female association, and female liberty were appreciated. The custom of the females coming out to receive kings was also in vogue. It is stated that Saiva, the wife of Jyamagha, "came to the palace gate, attended by the ministers, the courtiers and citizens, to welcome that victorious monarch."

The *Srīmat Bhāgavata* contains the following remarks with reference to the duties of the females.

"Oh Rājā! I will now dwell on the duties of the females. Patibrata devoted women should in every way make their husbands comfortable, be obedient to them, follow them in all they do, and serve their friends—a good wife observing these rules, and being well dressed, should clean, wash, embellish, and perfume the houses, and being moderate in her desire, affable, governing herself well, speaking truth agreeably and lovingly serve her husband. She should always keep the utensils clean. She should be content with what is gained, should never covet beyond her wants, should always be diligent, virtuous, should always speak the truth agreeably, be careful, and being always pure and serene will esteem and love her husband if free from sins."

We have already spoken of Sankarāchārya, who flourished before the Muhammadan invasion. He founded the Gosawees sect, who admitted females into their community on the condition that they were not to marry. When Sankara lived, the cultivation of letters had commenced in the Deccan. In the Sankara Bijaya (8th Swarga) there is an account of his having had a controversy with Mandana Misri, whose wife Lilāvati acted as the arbitress. There was another Lilāvati, the daughter of Bhaskarāchārya, who died unmarried, leaving two works, viz., *Pati* and *Bij Lilāvati*. Contemporaneous with Sankara were the four Tamil sisters, Avyar, Uppay, Valhe, and Uravay. The first sister died a virgin, much admired for "her talents in poetry and science." She knew chemistry; and wrote on ethics, on which subject the second sister also wrote. The two other sisters employed their pens on various subjects.

The diffusion of the Purānic and Tantric literature was not without effects. During the Muhammadan administration the contagion of founding sects was so widespread that domes, sweepers, and butchers proclaimed themselves as the heads of religious denominations. Rāmānuj was the first to admit low caste people as his disciples—of whom one was Rāi Dās, a *chamār* or worker in hides and leather. The Rāi of Chetori Jhāt was a follower of Rāi Dās, on which the Brahmins looked with horror, but Rāi Dās conciliated them by having them fed at an entertainment. Chaitanya who flourished afterwards (in the 16th century A.D., in Bengal) was an anti-caste reformer to the backbone. He not

only admitted *low caste* people, but also Muhammadans as his disciples. On the female mind his teachings had a powerful influence; and he had both male and female disciples living within the same enclosure and looking upon each other as brothers and sisters. When a female is moved, her voice is "the voice potential"—the circle within which it is felt, goes on widening itself. Such was the case with Chaitanya's female disciples, whose influence extended itself beyond the precincts of the enclosure, edifying and ennobling many a sister mind in distant circles.

The Vaishnava sect presents us with two memorable females who were distinguished for piety and love of letters. Mūrā Bāī was the wife of Lakha Rānā of Udayapur; she lived in the reign of Akbar. There was a difference between her and her mother-in-law on some religious matters. She therefore separated from her husband and led a religious life. She left the effusions of her piety in the poems and odes which constitute the ritual of the theistic sects, especially those of Nānak and Kuber. Colonel Tod says,—“The productions of her muse are said to have been unequalled by any of the bards of the day, and it is asserted that a *tika* or sequel to the Gīta Govinda or Canticles in honour of Rāmā will stand comparison with the original by Jayadeva.” Charandas was a native of Dehli when the second Alamgir reigned, in A.D. 1754. He was the founder of a Vaishnava sect. “The first disciple of Charandas was his own sister Sahajī Bāī,—she succeeded to her brother's authority as well as learning, having written the Sahas Prakas and Sala Nirmaya; they have left many Sabdas and Kabits.”

The female characters we have depicted show intellectual, moral, and religious culture, irrespective of considerations as to creed. The class of the Hindū females who appeared from the sixteenth century and downwards, while fully equal to their sisters of the preceding ages in strong attachment to religion and fearlessness of death, outshone them in fortitude of a different phase, and placed themselves on a par with the Greek and Roman women. The females we allude to are those of the Rājputs descended from the Yadas, to which race Krishna belonged. “The Rājput,” says Tod, “claims her full share in the glory of her son, who imbibes at the maternal fount his first rudiments of chivalry.” And the maternal precept is, “Make thy mother's milk resplendent.” When Delhi was invaded by the Sultān of Ghazni, the Chohan Emperor sees his wife who thus addresses him: “Who asks women for advice? the world deems their understanding shallow; even when truth issues from their lips, none listens thereto. Yet what is the world without woman? The men of wisdom, the astrologer, can from the books calculate the motion and course of the planets; but in the book of woman he is ignorant, and this is not

a saying of to-day, it ever has been so ; our book has not been marked, therefore to hide their ignorance they say in woman there is no wisdom. Yet woman shares your joys and sorrows ; even when you depart for the mansion of the sun, we part not." The Chohan felt the force of her inspiration. He marched in "battle array" leaving her to head "Dehli's heroes." She, however, made up her mind to lose him, and lived on only water, saying—"I shall see him again in the region of Sárya, but never more in Jognipur" (Dehli). Her lord fought and fell, and she "mounted the funeral pyre."

When Cholan was on the throne of Delhi, Dewaldí roused her sons to battle, and observing their unwillingness she said—"Would that the gods had made me barren, that I had never borne sons who thus abandon the name of the Rájputs, and refuse to succour their prince in danger."—They acceded to her request ; she then said, "Farewell, my children, be true to your salt, and should you lose your head for your prince, doubt not you will obtain the celestial crown." When Akbar invaded Chitor, the mother of Putta of Kailwa charged her son to put on the saffron robe and die for his country.

The Rahtor Jeswant had to fight a fierce battle with Aurangzebe on behalf of his brothers. Not being able to sustain the brunt of the battle any longer, the Mahárájá retreated. His wife, a daughter of the Ráná of Udayapur, would not receive him as she thought "that he should have been victorious or died on the field, and therefore she shut the gates of the castle." The Bundi Queen, like a Spartan mother, rejoiced "at the heroic death of her son." Instances are not wanting of the Rájput females having fought nobly and shown uncommon courage when placed in difficulties. There are some who professed literary attainments, diplomatic powers, and a *strong sense of honour* even at the sacrifice of life. There are some who looked upon proposals of marriage from the Muhammadan Emperors with abhorrence. All these females, as a class, showed in the habitual practice of fortitude a high discipline of the mind.

Under the British administration, Holwell, who wrote in 1765, and was a witness of several satia, observes as follows :—"If we view these women in a just light, we shall think more candidly of them and confess they act upon heroic as well as rational and pious principles. We must consider them as a race of females trained from their infancy in the full conviction of their celestial rank. They are nursed and instructed in the firm faith."

Without wishing to crowd these pages with notices of the Hindú women distinguished for high culture or private and public virtues, who appeared from time to time during the British administration, we will confine ourselves to giving a short account

of a Mahrattá lady who was universally loved and admired by both Hindús and Musalmáns. We allude to Ahalyá Báí, the widow of Malhár Ráo, who lived in A D. 1754. She had a son, who was a foolish boy, and she wept openly for his follies. He died, however, at an early age. She possessed a daughter who became a widow; and as the latter had lost also her only son, she was sick of this life and resolute in burning herself as a satí. The remonstrances of Ahalyá were of no avail, and she had to witness the painful scene. She assumed the government of the country, and sat in *open darbár* at the age of thirty. She was remarkable for her patience and unwearied attention, in the consideration of all measures affecting the welfare of the country. She respected private rights sacredly, listened to every complaint personally and studying the interests of all classes, she was a great advocate for *moderate assessment*, and rejoiced at the prosperity of her subjects. In the morning she was engaged in prayer, hearing *sacred works* read, performing ceremonies and giving alms. She lived on vegetable food. After breakfast, clad in white clothes as a widow, and having no ornament except a small necklace, she sat in open darbár from about 2 to 6 P.M.; after which she devoted two or three hours to religious discipline. The books she was fond of reading were the *Puránas*, from which she drew chiefly food for her mind. The life of self-abnegation she led, imparted to her thoughts and acts a *deep tinge of religion*. In the performance of her daily duties, as the highest authority of the land, she "deemed herself answerable to God for every exercise of power;" and whenever any severe measure was proposed, she said, "Let us mortals beware how we destroy the works of the Almighty." She considered herself "a weak, sinful woman." She loved truth and hated adulation. When a Bráhmañ submitted to her a work written by him and full of her praises, she ordered it to be thrown into the Narbadá. She was judicious in the selection of her agents. She was not only successful in the internal administration, but possessed great diplomatic powers by which the country enjoyed tranquillity as long as she governed; and she reigned for thirty years. She built numerous temples, holy edifices, dharmshálas, forts, wells, and a road over the Vindhya Range. She was not only humane to man, but also to the brute creation. The oxen ploughing the fields were refreshed with water, the birds and fish also partook of her compassion. Malcolm says: "In the most sober view that can be taken of her character, she certainly appears within her limited sphere to have been one of the purest and most exemplary rulers that ever existed; and she affords a striking example of the practical benefit a mind may receive from performing worldly duties under a deep sense of responsibility to its Creator." To

the philosophic mind the life of this exemplary woman must be a subject for deep reflection.

The foregoing pages will show the different phases of the Hindú female mind ; and that the high cultivation at which it had arrived was owing to the development of the spiritual element, the effects of which are traceable in a vivid conviction of the Divine Power, the immortality of the soul, the punishment in its transmigrations, and the reward in the perpetual spiritual felicity. It is this vivid conviction that led to the systematic performance of the religious and moral duties as laid down in the Vedas, Smritis, and Purānas. The precepts of the *sāstras* may be right or wrong ; but it is evident that they were powerful in their influence on the female mind, and instrumental in the continued formation of exemplary female characters, accounts of which have been transmitted to generation after generation, and looked upon as the embodied essence of religion. Though the cultivation of letters has been kept up and continued by the Hindú females, their instruction has been *less* through books, and *more* from tradition, the precepts of the *sāstras*, and the influence of the domestic and social circles. The Vedic and Purānic ceremonies which they perform, may not be reconciled with reason, but they rouse them to think earnestly of the Divine Power, the immortality of the soul, and of its happiness in the next world. To this cause we attribute the fact that many females in respectable families, unacquainted with reading and writing, possess notwithstanding an ardent love for religion, a strong desire to secure celestial bliss by the performance of good acts according to the light they have, a ready moral perception, and an ability to discharge domestic and social duties. Thus rocked and cradled spiritually, the Hindú females will readily receive what may be addressed to their soul—what may lead to its expansion and development. The dry deductive education may bear little or no fruit. The emotional and spiritual processes, the one having reference to moral duties, and the other to God and his infinite and wonderful providence, are sure to succeed. Any artificial system of instruction calculated to *externalise* the mind can do but little good. The field for the exercise of sound judgment as to the means and *modus operandi* for the attainment of a right system of female education is wide ; and we require thoughtful and practical labourers to sow and reap.

ART. III.—THE POETRY OF ANGLO-INDIAN LIFE.

IT would seem to be an idle or a most ambitious task to try to regard from any new point of view the well-known phenomena of Anglo-Indian life; for what feature of it has not long ago been painted in every light? And how have the pictures fared? Where are all the journals and letters and memoirs to which India has given such frequent birth? To what limbo are gone the second-rate Indian novels and third-rate magazines which have struggled from time to time into ephemeral life? And yet how few there are in England even of those whose nearest and dearest are passing their lives in India, who are able to realise in any way the life of their brothers and sisters? How far fewer still who would ever turn for the theme of poetry or romance to a life which is proverbial for monotony and ennui, and every phase of which is chronicleed as the blue-books which chronicle its official routine.

Indian poets have indeed sung centuries ago songs as sweet as those of our own land, the natural growth of the soil; but who was ever inspired to sing by the daily course of that dullest of lives, the life of the Anglo-Indian?

All the world we know is a stage; but in the dazzling scenes before the footlights the bye-play which goes on in this Eastern background is lost sight of, till the very actors often cast off their stage manner and play their own serious games unheeded. And yet how vast a theatre it is in itself! On what a scale is the drama played! On what a rich and varied scene does the curtain rise which reveals this Empire of a hundred years, whose provinces are kingdoms and whose "hills" the loftiest mountains in the world!—an Empire of which none yet dare say whether it is founded on a rock, or is a house of cards which a breath from without or even from within may suddenly lay low! How much of poetry is buried here in this land of strange contradictions, where the highest culture of modern Europe is side by side with the primitive forms of the most ancient civilisations: where strong men turn dotards and delicate women fade away and die, yet where heroes and heroines are made and brought to light; where birds never sing and insects live only to torment, yet where plumage is most brilliant and nature most lavish in form and colour; where men hate each other in the maddening heat, yet where both men and women self-devotion reaches its climax: a land whose life is at once the dullest and the most romantic, the most mysterious and the most common place, most fettered by the routine

of ages and most the prey of violent and surprising change! Is there no grandeur in the physical scenery of an Empire which reaches from Thibet to Ceylon and from the forests of Sind to the borders of Siam and China? Is there no romance in the history of a thousand families in a country "which is sending forth continually its flowers and blossoms to a clime so remote as that of India, with heart-rending separations and farewells never to be repeated?" Is there not a pathos wide as humanity in this exile which is never made a home, yet where are formed and ripen deepest and truest friendships? And is there not poetry to be read in the phenomena of an overmastering climate; in the surroundings of an artificial life which is neither of East nor West; in the effects of that life on individual and national character? Dull and monotonous our life in India may be; but to those who love to watch the beauty and symmetry of things, it is a life penetrated through and through with the richest colours of poetry, and exalted above happier forms of being by its intense and touching reality.

Let us glance first over the stage on which the scenes, tragic, comic, or burlesque, of this real and unparalleled life are enacted. Spread out before us is a scenery unrivalled in beauty and variety, of city and forest, of river and mountain and plain. The eye ranges over a succession of provinces each with its own associations of history and attractions of sport, its individual climate and peculiar race, an Empire in itself; and succeeding each other in endless novelty we discern the features and costumes, the fabrics and architecture of many nations, the pageantry of many creeds, the foliage of many climates. What wealth of scenery is embraced in the green levels of Bengal, with its pomp of stately rivers and belts of primeval jungle; in the dry plains of the North-West; in the magnificent hunting-grounds of Berar and the Central Provinces; in the Panjáb with its alternate withering heat and piercing cold; in the lovely hills and valleys of Southern India! And what shall we say of Burmah, that beautiful offshoot of the Indian Empire, severed from the rest by every barrier, physical, ethnic, social and religious, like one of its own rare orchids growing green and vigorous on the gigantic teak which overshadows it? A land of streams and hills, of silks and flowers, of monasteries and pagodas, fringed by a sea sown thick with wooded islands, the dream of a boy's first fancy. A free and simple social system binds together a people in whose character are blended endurance and indolence, chivalry and ferocity, the very pith of humour and open-handed generosity: whose women are endowed with the most delicate feminine graces in gentle modesty, in tact and taste, in soft smile and sweet expression; and whose religious faith is the perfection of

purity by which alone it has resisted the corruptions of centuries, and still bids defiance to all aggressors. It is no wonder that men tell here of an unknown charm which fascinates like that fabled land "in which it seemed always afternoon."

Turn then to the cities which stud the Empire from end to end. Here, where forests of ships bespeak the great markets of the Eastern world, rise our own fair cities like pale exotics by the side of the flowers of the soil. Calcutta stately and shabby, like the paste-board city of the stage; Bombay gabled and many-storied, the Chester of India; and Madras with would-be palaces in would-be parks, ghosts of the parks and palaces of England. And there are Agra and Benares, models of Oriental beauty, in graceful form and finished design; and city after city rich in memories of war or philosophy, learning or religion, centres of a history reaching back to a legendary past.

But if the cities of India are fair, who has ever seen and forgotten the scenery of her hills? Let those who would know what India can boast, visit in some bright October the heights of Darjiling in the Himálayas, where English cottages are embosomed in hills clothed with rarest beauties of fern and shrub; where the air is bright with butterflies the most gorgeously painted in the world, and with every most exquisite form of insect life, and where in the everlasting snows the eye rests upon a spectacle to which the whole range of the Alps can afford no rival. Not all the fantastic dreams of Martin or the glowing colours of Turner could exaggerate the wonders of that ever-changing scene, as displayed again and again in eternal freshness, when the morning is young and the face of nature clear and still, and the stupendous height and defiant outline combine with the purity of virgin snow and the melting colours of the nearer ranges to inspire a sense at once of Titanic power and unearthly beauty—like pictures of angels' faces, uniting the calm unconscious strength of perfect manhood with the most delicate loveliness of form and the most feminine sweetness of expression: or when the afternoon is yielding to evening and the slopes lie folded one upon another, as they lie about the northern end of the Lake of Como, greener than emeralds and softer than velvet: when clouds are seething and foaming from the valleys, and suddenly the mists open and a glimpse as in a vision of Heaven is flashed upon the sight—bright peaks gleaming with liquid light, and lifted far above the dull earth from which they are seen: when the living glow of sunset falls them and the same peaks fall back ghastly and dead into the twilight, or at night reveal their shadowy beauty fit a veil of soft spiritual light. Language cannot picture or thought exhaust a scenery where the power and loveliness of outward nature are blended in so exquisite a harmony. And it is within reach at

least of such a scenery that our dreary Anglo-Indian days are passed.

Now let us pass on to the life itself and try to trace some of the threads of poetry which are interwoven closely and frequently enough with the strange medley of grandeur and meanness, of ennobling and debasing elements which make up its texture. Conspicuous on the surface presents itself the world-old burden of exile, which some have found harder to bear than death, and which is inseparable from Indian life. The day is indeed gone by when the boy launched upon an Indian career was parted with as if for ever; but near as science has brought us to our loved ones, let us not be altogether blinded by the brilliance of her gifts. Modern civilisation is mighty to sweep away all that makes the wheels of life grate harshly. The prospects of the human race are very bright (as we have heard one say who had no thought of a future life); nor can any man estimate the value of the treasures which science has lavished upon this favoured generation, discoveries which day after day reveal themselves, like new constellations coming from the depths of space. To such progress moreover there seems to beset no limit. As Arthur Clough in one of his thoughtful poems has shown, Nature in her outward aspect loves to coquet with Science. The frowning precipice or yawning chasm yields gladly to his earnest wooing: the mountains are laid low and the valleys exalted, which

—But for the joy of being conquered,
(Rapture they will not forego), dare to resist and rebel.

But in her most vital aspect, in her heart of hearts, nature is unchanged and unchangeable. Love and hate, sorrow and joy, pain and pleasure neither die nor change. Travel in your palace-cars from end to end of the earth; shorten, infinitely if you will, the transit from West to East; parting is parting still, the image of death draped in the sorrowful robe of uncertainty, the impenetrable shadow which must ever overhang the morrow, and which in truth gives to this marvellous human life all its pathos and all its charm.

And so it is that the separation for an Indian life, with its many and daily multiplied alleviations, is and always must be real and affecting enough:—let alone the wretch in breaking indefinitely off from all early ties and associations, parting from father and mother, from sisters and all the sweet feminine influences which make an English home what it is: let alone the divergence to a new path leading further and further away from the loved and well-known round of country amusement and town excitement. Youth is strong, and eager to know and see the world and the phases of its manifold life, and seldom stops to think how irrevocable is the step taken, how deliberate

its acceptance of the lot of those whom their own place soon knows no more. But there are wider and more powerful influences at work to weave the many-coloured web of Indian story, and threads which are entwined about the very heart of our being. Who that knows India has not seen the young wife for whom her lover has come back, as she walks the steamer's deck with him, full of hope and trust, and happy that she is with her love?—and who has not seen her as she returns in a few years, with her pale sickly children by her side, every shade of colour long fled from the anxious face, and with only the still lustrous eyes to tell of what is lost. She has told of carriages and horses, of stately houses and troops of servants; but none has known or measured the unspeakable weariness and countless daily trials of her life, not to be explained to the innocent English mind, all the wearing away of nerve and spirit, of health and life. A few months, and the roses come back and the rounded cheeks tell of returning health till again comes the old trial and far harder now: there is no more charm of novelty: the weariness of the voyage and deadly dullness of the life are known only too well: and to crown all comes a new and terrible separation, the forced parting from the most precious treasure which life has given, which has indeed become the most essential part of life itself. To think of the absence of the cherished little one from her breast is bitter enough to the young mother, but even that is not all. None knows better than she that the child which now clings to her with passionate tears will be to her a stranger when next they meet: and who can sound the depths of feeling which at such a time bows the heart of a refined and sensitive woman, a tender loving mother? But her place is by her husband's side, where the delicate child can no longer safely be; and so her very life is torn asunder, and she almost blesses her who has no children.

Many are the thoughtless sarcasms passed on the "grass widow," on the fragile wife who has yielded to her husband's entreaty, and consented, by a cruel paradox for his sake to leave him, from whom death only should part her, to fight his own battle alone in the fierce tropical heat, with all its dullness and all its perils; but few ever pause to think of the deep sadness which underlies her gaiety, if she be only a true woman. Nor is this any fancy sketch, but only one of a hundred pictures such as every day meet the eye. Think of the uncomplaining husband whose lot it is, having married young and on a small income, to toil night and day for a life-time in rigid self-denial and in absolute devotion to the wife and children far away in England, whom he never sees, and may never see again. Think of the sister who has come to cheer her brother's loneliness, and

whose heart is, in spite of herself, given to a lover who would part her from that brother for ever: of the fresh English girl who has followed her love, and droops and dies like a flower before his eyes: and of darker and sadder pictures still: of estrangement between husband and wife, not seldom due to India alone: of the soldier whose wife or daughter exposure to Indian life has ruined: the devoted missionary who lays down his life in the hopeless effort to give to others the treasure he himself has found: the unselfish and laborious administrator cut down by the accursed knife of the assassin. Is this the exile of which many make so light? Is it not the very apotheosis of *heimweh*, this yearning prolonged for years, and relieved only by blessed weekly letters which bring a flush to the cheek and for a moment catch up their reader to a heaven of which he only dreams?—

Like a sudden spark,
Struck vainly in the night;
And back returns the dark,
With no more hope of light.

Apart again from the deeper personal influences by which we are all affected, unnumbered and unknown are the sacrifices to which he assents who voluntarily makes India the theatre of his life. Is it nothing that the roll of European politics, the din and tumult of our own world, is heard only as a distant echo? That the march of music and of art passes on unnoticed (though literature cannot leave us quite behind)? Is it nothing that we live an artificial life among unfamiliar races with whom we feel no kindred, in a climate to which we are never inured? That the land we live in is held only by armed force? That, in spite of material progress unexampled, in spite of noblest efforts to learn and to fulfil the wants of those whom we rule, we still read hatred in many a face around us? That we, the blunt, plain-spoken, honest Englishman, must perforce learn to look on all men as liars and cast our policy in the mould of the most watchful and astute diplomacy? Rather, is the hard-earned leisure to which we all look forward worth its price?—except to those few who, here and there, retaining a rare vigour, survive with character formed and chastened to look back upon their Indian life as on a dream.

Truly our men of property who live at home and grumble, not knowing their own happiness, have more than material wealth allotted to them; men whose children grow up around them and share their old associations, who travel only for health or pleasure and know nothing of this rending asunder of all that makes life worth living. Let such men remember the long monotonous years which thus eat out the life of their uncomplaining fellow-countrymen, whom it pleases them to fancy living in the lap of luxury, and of the tenor of whose days they only judge from the bright

faces and keenest enjoyment of life which are so conspicuous in their visits at home.

But while in any form, exile rivals death in the intensity of its pathos, very much of its burden in India is due to the often unobserved influences of climate and its irresistible dominance over our very habits of thought. We are not concerned here to give hints to persons about to go to India, but only to view as in a picture the atmosphere in which we live, and a few of the prominent notes of the life upon which it acts. Nor shall we dwell upon the real charms which cannot be denied to the climates of so vast an Empire: it is not of the delicious atmosphere of the Himálaya or Nilgiris that we shall speak, of the frosts of the Panjáb, or the few months of bracing and even piercing cold which each year brings to Northern India; not of sweet fresh mornings or forests sparkling with dew and alive with tropical flowers, the most lavishly decorated haunts of nature; not of balmy evenings or wild excitement of sport: but of that penetrating heat of which for the greater part of every year the majority of us bear the weight. Let us ask any one who has landed as a young man in India, even in the early part of the hot season, what were his first impressions. He will tell us, if we mistake not, that his first feeling was one of suffocation, that he *could* not live the best years of his fresh young life, just beginning, in an atmosphere physical and social so stifling to one brought up in the pure air of Europe; and will tell of the wonder with which he has heard the honest avowal of the old Indian, going home after a long career in the country, that he is not sure that he is glad to go. This leaden heat it is which, more and more every year, depresses the health and spirits, which makes strong men nervous and fretful as children, ruining the temper, and so incidentally widening the wide breach between race and race, yet of which—such is the wonderful elasticity of nature—we at last become unconscious, as men in a crowd of the suffocation they are undergoing; till even medical men are often led away and hesitate to recognise its baleful effects. Hence it is that we see men, the very marrow of whose lives is being slowly consumed by an unnatural climate, allowed or allowing themselves to linger on year after year, the veteran for his “off-reckonings,” the civilian for his pension, the merchant or lawyer for his income; till nature, which is deaf alike to the noblest or the most pathetic appeal, revenges the violation of her law and exacts the life of the transgressor. And this intolerable heat it is which is the heaviest of the physical burdens of India, which soaks out all colour from every English face, and tells its tale too well in the weakly frames and constitutions of the half-breed populations. And to the enervating effects of an all-pervading heat, con-

denying to sedentary pursuits a people whose life is essentially one of free outdoor exercise, must be added the deadly monotony of a climate whose only changes follow each other with the regularity of machinery. It is common in England to hear complaints of the uncertainty of our own climate (to us individually one of its attractions), but there is no need for such complaints here. For our fickle English weather we have in exchange the hard certainties of the tropics: two seasons, wet and dry, whose coming and going are known almost to the day, and during either of which each day is the counterpart of its fellow. Farewell to Spring and Autumn, to grateful sunlight and sweet summer rain; for sunshine has turned from a welcome friend to an implacable and relentless enemy; and the ceaseless floods of the monsoon drown the early memories of April showers. This weary monotony is indeed broken at intervals by phenomena of wind and rain, of thunder and hail, seas and floods, grander than are to be conceived under the innocent skies of our childhood, just as the ennui of Oriental life is always liable to incidents of the most startling and overwhelming surprise. In our early days thunder and lightning are invested only with a majesty which is without terror; but those who, whether on land or sea, have ever witnessed the might of a tropical cyclone have learnt to feel a new and genuine awe in the presence of nature. No flight of imagination or fiction of poetry can travesty the grandeur of these phenomena, familiar to all who have lived in India. But excepting the occasional convulsions of a climate of which the unvarying laws are day by day yielding their secrets to the researches of science, the monotony of the Indian climate is one of the main elements in the essential monotony of the life. A climate which debilitates the strongest constitutions; which forces into new and straitened grooves the habits of our daily existence; against which we must ever be armed as against a watchful foe, and in which even the trivial surroundings of our homes, books and pictures and trinkets, require a daily care as vigilant as living animals—is not this in itself enough to account for that hatred of India which is on the lips of many a man who has endured it? And if this is so with men, absorbed in the keen interests of their life's work, what is it to the delicate women, the devoted wives and sisters who come out to share and relieve their weariness? It is true that there are women in the present day to whom life in India is happy enough. Young girls whose time is divided between the excitements of Simla and those of the capital, find India very bearable: surrounded by attentions and shielded from petty annoyances, theirs is no exile in the true sense of the word; the poetry here is the poetry of ball-room and opera, and who shall deny the reality of a poetry which is inspired by the divine ecstacy of

youth? But turn to any of the thousand rural stations and watch the daily life of such a one as her whom we lately saw following her lover full of youthful hope. The music changes to a minor key, like the wail of the Eolian harp, as we try to reckon the countless burdens which here add their load to that of the climate.

One of the most striking and to us unnatural features of English life in India is its publicity; as the privacy of home life in England is the first of those unknown and unvalued charms which come back with new sweetness to the returned Indian. The peaceful seclusion of the English drawing-room with its fragrant atmosphere is unknown in a country where houses are open from end to end. No gentle knock is heard at doors which are never closed, and no bell is at hand to summon servants for "whose stealthy step you learn to be prepared at every moment. To this must be added the never ending domestic annoyances which are felt, and especially by ladies, with thousand-fold force under the influence of abnormal conditions; at the absolute necessity of personally superintending the minutest details of household management; the absence of any but the most trivial occupations outside the daily round of domestic care; the unfathomed duplicity and intolerable officiousness of Indian servants; the total want of sympathy with the poor of the land and the consequent isolation of many whose warm hearts are full of that human sympathy which in England finds its outlet in friendly visits to cottage homes. And in speaking of the many sacrifices of which the Anglo-Indian first becomes aware when he goes home, we must not omit to notice the absence in India of two at least of the most beautiful types of English life: the playfellows of our youth, both boys and girls, of that age intermediate between childhood and maturity, from fourteen to eighteen years; and the gentle old ladies who once graced our early homes.

We know of no object in nature more attractive than a sweet English girl of fourteen, full of life and health and of exquisite unconscious beauty; none more winning than the gentle grey-haired lady, "the embodiment of peaceful refinement," mature sagacity, and cultivated wit. But these familiar types of our loved home-life are for ever banished from the temporary home of the Englishman in India.

*Privations and vexations such as these, common to men and women in India, may seem of small account when taken singly; but the sum of them, superadded upon the pressure of climate, and the personal trial attendant upon humanity in any country, will at times to crush out all heart from the freshest and youngest.

There have of course always been those who, coming young to India and forming there the strong fibre of youth, have become so

far naturalised that India does become to them the semblance of a home; but this phase too has its romance, the romance of the linnet born within the cage, and is often not without a deeper romance still, hidden out of sight but interwoven with the story of many of those whom we meet every day—the romance of a rich inheritance of character frittered unconsciously away by contact with lowering external conditions. And so in effect there are none to whom India is ever really home; nor, with all good will to India, can we even wish that it were otherwise.

It remains then to ask what counter forces are those which still attract men to this life and lead them to embrace it, with all its evils as, what in truth it is, a worthy and ennobling career. The first of these forces is unquestionably the dire force of necessity. The mother country has not room for all her sons, and some must find a new home for themselves. But akin and hardly second to this is the transient enthusiasm of youth, the undefined longing for a freedom which seems unattainable in the narrow atmosphere of home, which is one of the leading motives of English enterprise, as it is not seldom the index of a stamp of character upon which India tells in the best way. And when we come to analyse this often unreasoning impulse, we find that it has its origin in no unworthy aspiration. There is much that is elevating in a career in which independence and self-reliance are perforce called out and developed, yet where the conditions of life guard the character against many of those harsh conceits which are contracted under more favourable outward conditions.

The Anglo-Indian character in its highest development has all the masculine qualities without the self-assertion and egotism which are too often found in our colonies properly so called. The proverbially strengthening influence which is exercised on the mind by foreign travel, by contact with many phases of life and thought, by excitements of danger, in travel or sport or fluty, gives a breadth and compass to the character which are hardly to be acquired under other conditions. And perhaps in no other country in the world does such absolute freedom reign, of thought and opinion, of speech and life, as in India; so that many even of those who most keenly feel the pains of expatriation would hardly care to exchange them for the restraints of a profession in the old country.

Influences such as these act upon every class alike, even upon those whose only interest in the country is as a step in the ladder of fortune. But to those who have a share, however insignificant, in the conduct of the affairs of this wonderful Empire, who are interested, however remotely, in the progress of the people, there is much indeed to weigh against the otherwise overwhelming burdens of the life. In spite of these, men learn to take a pride

in their work who feel themselves a part of the magnificent machinery which has already transformed not one but many Empires, each the growth of centuries, moulding them into one vast system : which still effects daily revolutions in the habits and thoughts of countless ages : which works perpetually in the dark, learning where to plant a firm footing and where to withdraw from a false position, or to abandon one which has become untenable. There is much that is invigorating in the visible progress which marks each year, in the exercise of power over many men, in the conscious independence of a position which even in England is regarded not without envy. Here is the source of the dash and chivalry which so often characterize men trained in India, of that not uncommon *esprit de corps* which makes each man boast of his own province as the finest in the Empire, each jealous of its fame, for climate, for administration, for the character of its people. This it is which makes men forget the blows of a contest in which they have forgotten themselves. Indolence, no doubt, and selfishness rear their heads in India no less conspicuously than in other countries ; but where there is the foundation of a genuine character, there the undimable interest of the life seldom fails to leave its stamp, developing and drawing out the stronger capacities and casting the weaker into the shade. Even the early influences of Indian life are very marked : if we compare the average of the young men who have been for two or three years in the country with their fellows in age and education who annually visit India as tourists, the rawness of the latter character contrasts strongly with the solidity which is being daily acquired by the former : and of the hold which an Indian career takes on the men who become absorbed in it, we may judge from the longing with which those forced by circumstances to retire at an early age invariably look back to the life which gave them an object of engrossing interest. The ultimate effects of this life upon those who live it out, are too well known to need any lengthy demonstration here. No one who observes human nature and types of English character, is unacquainted with a type which is no more faultless than any other, but in which are often conspicuously united some of the rarest and most valued endowments of humanity.

It is no unreal picture which has been so often drawn, nor any the less faithful that its originals would be the first to disclaim it—the manly frank bearing coupled with an almost feminine tenderness : the flexible imagination keen to interpret the thoughts of other men : the freshness which has a child's enjoyment of life : the healthy mind in which a wide common sense has displaced all insular narrowness of thought, knowing the world well enough to appreciate fully its pleasures, to sympathize with its pains, and above all to tolerate its endless evils of misery and folly, of weak-

ness and vice. Such are some of the living traits which, in its maturest aspect, and before it has been clouded by the infirmities of declining years, mark the character of the old Indian, a character befitting a ruler of men, and such as is formed only by long years passed in the real conflicts of the world. Nor does it in any way detract from the truthfulness of such a picture that the central figure is set off in bold outline against a mass of colourless characters, that in a thousand instances the influence of India is not for the individual good, that by India and India alone enthusiasm is often turned to indifference, activity to indolence, reverence to cynicism, gentleness to tyranny, even integrity to an unscrupulous selfishness: and this too by a fatal necessity which it is impossible that all should resist.

But in passing in review the modes in which India acts upon those most intimately associated with the interests of the country, we are reminded of one class of our countrymen to which the conditions of the life we have been considering are harder than to any other, although it is a class which has special claims upon our sympathy and which perhaps more than any other contributes to India what it has of home associations and home attractions. To the brave men who are here to guard the Empire and hold the conquests of a necessarily unpopular, however wise power, India is truly exile. Shifted from province to province, with no ties binding them to soil or people, no duties beyond the dull routine of barracks, what consolation is theirs? It is useless to study language or character, it is hardly worth while to form attachments among their companions in banishment only to be rudely and perhaps finally broken in a year or two at most. Even the noble and infinitely varied sports of India are not compensation to more than a small minority. Appointments on the staff are comparatively rare, and for the Regimental Officer it must suffice that he is serving his country in a profession which has always been most honourable; and, for the rest, that hardship is the soldier's privilege! And is there no poetry here? To a nature which cannot rest content with the rapid round of social amusement, is not this a situation which calls for the bravest and most patient spirit of sacrifice?

And before we quit a theme which presents subjects of such profound interest and inexhaustible variety, a brief notice must be added of the manner in which this unique phase of English life affects the character of the women who form in it so conspicuous and so bright a feature. Here we are naturally led into the Indian social world, and at the outset we cannot hide from ourselves the notorious fact that no society on earth is so proverbial as that of the English in India for the smallest of social gossip and the pettiest of social feuds. Be the truth of this as it may, to those who consider well the conditions such as we have faintly indicated them, under

which Indian society is composed and carried on, it will be no matter for surprise if, at least away from the great social centres, the barren fruits of a life of ennui do spring up like weeds; while those who know India best are able to testify that it is this want of coherence, with all its outcome of social discords, inseparable from Indian society, which is felt by all alike to be the very keystone of all the weariness which besets our life in India.

And yet to this combination of influences we owe a manifestation of feminine character which is perhaps without its counterpart, as are the special conditions under which it is developed. For with women as with men, if the effect of Indian life is in many cases to weaken, its effect is conspicuously to strengthen and enrich a character of the best mettle. Something of the bloom may be wanting which graces the sheltered hot-house flower; but there are wild flowers which brave the open weather to which is given a freshness and a delicate beauty which the exotic cannot claim. Most of us in India have had the happiness to meet one of those gentle, unselfish, unobtrusive women who are the salt of society in any country, but whose character is brought out by Indian social life at once into full maturity and prominent relief. Endowed it may be with no brilliant gifts of beauty or accomplishment, she moves through society as if invested with some mysterious charm, patient to bear her own daily trials with brave unconscious self-devotion, and active to bind into one the incongruous elements which are thrown together in the small and ever shifting knots of Indian society. The devoted wife, the frank and faithful friend, the ever cheerful companion, she it is who heals the petty social wounds which are so easily inflicted and so quickly aggravated in the heated social atmosphere. Dimly conscious of the immense power which she wields by simple purity and sincerity of character, and with genius to recognize the greatness of the task, she has strength and courage to face and to lay the social demons which, unknown elsewhere, lower about our Indian homes—demons of petty official pride, demons of paltriest scandal, demons of a small and irritating social tyranny. And this again is no abstraction. These are the women who make our houses graceful and home-like, and who do make men forget that India is exile. The ideal of wise and loving womanhood, it is from women such as these that our conception of angels is formed, the most beautiful conception of the human mind. Noble types of the feminine character have, thank God, in all ages and all lands made life tolerable; but the world has never seen a nobler than this whose formation is largely due to the special influences of Anglo-Indian life.

Once more to cast back the eye over the motley picture, there is much in English life in India that is attractive, in its motives,

its freedom, its variety, its still profuse hospitality, its social amusements, its sports, even in its luxuries unknown in other countries; and there is very much too that is repelling in the bitterness of exile, in influences of climate, in cramped social relations, and in privations and annoyances without name or number. Between these, let each man strike the balance for himself. So much at least is certain; to women and men alike life in India is a very real test of character, a test under which many fail, but from which hundreds come forth like gold from the furnace, to leaven the national character with an element which is perhaps the only real and lasting gain which England reaps from her Indian Empire.

Thus we have* tried to follow for a few steps one or two of the rich veins of poetry which run through one of the most outwardly prosaic forms of modern civilised life, and to view as in a rough, unfinished landscape the medley of which it is composed; and if the scenes on which we have lingered most are those most coloured by a sombre tinge, it is not that we are not aware of brighter colours mingling with the rest, but that to us the prevailing tone which presents itself is the subdued mezzotint which we have employed, and which may after all be mainly due to the colour-blindness of an individual mind which stamps all things with its own dull tint. At least we are conscious, to revert to our former simile, of utter incompetence to do more than point out, like the diviner, the seam which others may work, but which none will ever exhaust. For as beneath a surface which has least to attract the eye the ore is often richest and most abundant, so is even the dullest phase of human life the theme of an unwritten poetry, inexhaustible in depth and variety, set to a music which is at one time a melody, at another a discord, and again a wonderful harmony, the infinite music of life, which some are able to read but which no man can interpret.

ART. IV.—A DECADE OF SANITATION IN INDIA.

- 1.—*Report of Commissioners on Cholera Epidemic of 1861 in Northern India. Calcutta : 1861.*
- 2.—*Annual Reports of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, 1865-1870.*
- 3.—*Reports on Measures adopted for Sanitary Improvements in India during the years 1868, 1869, and up to the month of June, 1870. London. 1869, 1870.*

THE history of sanitary progress in India may be said to date from 1861. In that year cholera was epidemic in the northern provinces of the Bengal Presidency, as it had often been before, but its terrible virulence at Mian-Mir the military cantonment of Lahor, was the immediate cause which forcibly drew the attention of Government to the necessity of investigating the local circumstances attending the outbreak of the pestilence in the stations which chiefly suffered, of determining, so far as possible, the causes which affected the progress and virulence of the disease, and of founding, on the basis of facts to be obtained, a system of sanitary measures having for its object the prevention or mitigation of future attacks.

A special commission, of which Mr. John Strachey was nominated president, was accordingly instituted by the Government of India. This commission met at Lahor on the 20th September, 1861, and may, not inaptly, be called the first crusade against cholera, the history of which is written in the well-known "Report of the Cholera Epidemic of 1861 in Northern India."

Since the issue of this Report in July, 1862, a period of ten years has just elapsed, and we purpose reviewing, in short space, the progress of sanitary measures, and their results, during this decade, in the Bengal Presidency especially.

Sanitary progress in all countries depends on the effectual administration of measures directed to the suppression or mitigation of diseases, the knowledge of such measures having been arrived at previously either by experience or by scientific enquiry.

In estimating, then, the amount of sanitary progress in any period, the subject must be considered from two points of view:—

1.—Sanitary progress consequent on increase of knowledge of the etiology of disease, resulting either from experience or from direct scientific inquiry—Scientific sanitary progress.

2.—Sanitary progress resulting from the more effectual administration of sanitary measures—Practical sanitary progress.

It will be necessary, therefore, to inquire into the practical and scientific condition of sanitary matters in the Bengal Presidency at the period of the outburst of epidemic cholera over the provinces of Northern India in 1861. On these heads we have, fortunately, most complete and accurate information in the Report of the Commissioners referred to above.

At page 294 the Commissioners, Mr. John Strachey and Inspector-General Dr. McClelland, write :—" In concluding this report we desire again to notice the necessity of measures for the gradual removal of the ignorance which now prevails regarding almost every matter of sanitary importance in India. So long as this ignorance remains, it is useless to hope that measures for the prevention of cholera or of disease generally among our European soldiers can have any sort of completeness. Up to the present time we have hardly made a beginning in laying even the foundations of true sanitary knowledge. We require the registration of deaths, the observation, on a regular and uniform plan, of meteorological phenomena; the record of facts to show the nature of the relations which exist between variations of climate and season; the rates of mortality, and the prevalence of disease; and generally the systematic accumulation of knowledge regarding matters that affect the public health.

" At the present time we know almost nothing regarding the real sanitary conditions even of the places at which our European troops have been stationed for a long series of years. There hardly exists, as we have already noticed, a satisfactory account of the climate of a single place in the whole of Northern India. The principles upon which our barracks and hospitals should be constructed, or our plans of conservancy carried out remain doubtful and undecided. If we wish to ascertain a matter so apparently simple as that of the comparative healthiness of various cantonments, we find it scarcely possible to come to any conclusion, so obviously deceptive and full of error are all the available data. Regarding the effect of climate and of other causes on mortality and disease among the native population we know literally nothing.

" The first thing that we require is, therefore, the means of obtaining some insight into the laws upon which public health in India depends.

" It is not in this branch of the subject alone that comprehensive views are necessary. If we desire to render the sanitary condition of our European soldiers really satisfactory, we must not, when we come to practical measures of improvement, ignore, as we have hitherto done, the existence of the masses of the native population in the midst of which our soldiers must generally live. It is hopeless to expect that we can guard against the attacks of epidemic disease by any amount of care

"in our cantonments, if every sanitary precaution is neglected
 "in the native cities and towns close by. For practical purposes
 "we may consider that, in this respect up to the present time,
 "nothing has been done at all."

This is a clear statement of the condition of sanitary matters in 1861 in the Bengal Presidency. It is for us now to consider how far our knowledge of the laws which govern public health in India has increased during the past ten years, how far we have acted in accordance with the sanitary principles deduced, and how far successfully. Starting with the Report in question, we find in the measures of precaution recommended to be observed on the appearance of cholera, by the Commissioners, sanitary progress, the result of experience too dearly bought, in the terrible outbreak of the pestilence at Mián-Mír and other stations within the epidemic area. The appalling condition of the sick crowded in the Regimental Hospital at Mián-Mír, the utter failure of conservancy arrangements, so that the building became a veritable pest-house, fatal alike to the patient and to his comrades told off to attend him, led to the recognition of one of the most important sanitary principles—the necessity of strictly isolating cases of epidemic disease.

This may be taken as a sanitary axiom applicable to every form of epidemic disease. The necessity not only of isolating cases of epidemic disease from cases of other disease, but also, where practicable, of treating such cases in separate apartments, has received fresh confirmation with each year's experience. Indeed, the whole system of hospitalism is open to serious objections. European experience has shown that in very many cases the fatal disease has had its origin in hospital wards, and patients have died, not of the diseases for which they were originally admitted, but of those generated in hospital. It is very questionable if it be possible to construct any large building, the several parts of which shall be at all times free from the dangerous effluvia given off by those suffering from communicable diseases. When we reflect on the difficulty of keeping the external atmosphere pure in large towns, we are forced to conclude that no plan of hospital ventilation has yet been devised on which thorough reliance can be placed.

There are many days, in England even, when, owing to the perfect stillness of the atmosphere, the best constructed ventilators cease to act except where the air is propelled through them by mechanical means. If this be true of English how much more does it apply to Indian hospitals, where, day after day, especially during the rains, the only motion in the sultry air is imparted by a punkah, and ventilation, as understood in Europe, may be said to be *nil*.
 Although the danger of large hospitals has been recognised, and, so far, there has been scientific sanitary progress in this

respect ; yet, practically, improvement has been very slight in India. The Report of 1861 led to the order that cases of cholera should on no account be mixed up with those of other diseases ; and accordingly, in military stations at least, separated buildings, or huts have been erected or set apart for the accommodation of cases of cholera, small-pox, or other epidemic or contagious diseases ; or where these do not exist, arrangements have been made for erecting hospital tents for the same purpose.

In the latest rules published by the Military Department, respecting measures to be adopted on the outbreak of cholera, the danger of the existing system of hospitalism is recognised in these words:—"It must be borne in mind that in very numerous instances it is in the hospital, among patients under treatment for other diseases, that cholera first appears."

Still, however, the old system prevails among the military, with the exceptions noted above, while in the principal cities and towns of India the sick of the native population is accommodated in great, palatial, double-storied buildings where the difficulties of attendance and conservancy are increased four-fold, and necessary cleanliness and sufficient ventilation rendered impossible.

But sanitary progress in the Bengal Presidency must be sought for in the vast improvement that has taken place during the past decade in the condition of the principal cities and towns and military stations. In Calcutta, alone, has a perfect system of drainage and water-supply been partially carried out, but in most of the other cities and towns of the Presidency the removal of refuse matters is very effectually performed by hand-labour. Calcutta of 1861, probably the most insanitary city in the world, differs most essentially from Calcutta of 1871, which in its mortality bears favourable comparison with London, and actually exceeds in healthiness some of the principal cities of England. The Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India writes thus:—"The very marked improvement in the health of the town of Calcutta which has characterized 1870, and which has been coincident with the introduction of a good water-supply, deserves special mention. Comparing the statistics of mortality with what they have been previously, it appears that in 1870 the deaths from cholera numbered only 1,563, less than one-half of what they were in the year previous, and very little over one-half of what they were in the most favourable year of which there is any record. Between 1841 and 1860 the annual deaths from this one cause varied from a minimum of 2,502 in 1848 to a maximum of 6,553 in 1860. From 1861 to 1864 no records are procurable ; but the later years, 1865 to 1869, present quite as many fatal cases in each as are to be found in the earlier period. Dysentery and diarrhoea in 1870 were also at a minimum which had never been reached before. The results

"as a whole were also singularly favourable. It is too early to draw any favourable conclusions from these facts, for it remains to be seen how far the results may be properly ascribed to a better water-supply, and to the new drainage, and how far they merely represent the healthy character of the year ; but there can be no question that the sanitary improvements which have been introduced into Calcutta of late years are calculated to have a marked influence on the public health, and that the greatest benefit may be anticipated from them." *

The total number of deaths in Calcutta from cholera last year, as given in the Municipal Report, was only 800, very slightly over half the number of deaths in the preceding year, 1870, and therefore, according to Dr. Cunningham, *about one quarter the number in the most favourable year of which there is any record.*

These results, coincident with the introduction of an abundant supply of filtered water, and a perfect system of drainage, which, however, has been only partially applied, are very hopeful, as they seem to indicate the means whereby cholera may be, as it were, stamped out of the delta of the Ganges.†

What an incalculable blessing for the millions of inhabitants of this great Presidency, if their mortality from cholera and dysentery were reduced by one-half as in Calcutta in 1870. But while the inhabitants of the cities and towns, very few in number compared with the millions occupying the country districts, enjoy in varying degree the good results due to sanitary improvements, the latter remain in almost precisely the same condition they were a hundred years ago, or have changed it for worse, as, for instance, in the Hugli district.

The loss of life and physical deterioration of the people occupying this part of the delta of the Ganges from fever alone has been enormous, especially during the last three years. The fever seems to have increased in virulence during the past twelve months, and the unfortunate inhabitants of the district have been more than decimated. The same endemic fever raged in the Bardwán and Naddea districts in 1861 and 1862, and its excessive virulence led to an inquiry into its causes and progress by the Government of Bengal. That no good resulted from this inquiry is, unfortunately, only too evident. The inhabitants of these districts are reduced to the lowest state of physical deterioration ; and the only help afforded by Government has been in the shape of quinine distributed at the local dispensaries by native sub-assistant surgeons and other native medical assistants. It would be interesting to know how much good is effected by this

* Seventh Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, pp., 106, 107.

† A result, according to Dr. Bryden's

theory, necessarily followed by the extinction of the disease throughout the world ! O utinam !

plan, and we would accordingly inquire—how many applicants for quinine require that medicine? how many of those who require it obtain it? and lastly, how much of that sent out from the medical stores in Calcutta is distributed?

To fevers by far the greater amount of mortality in India is due. The writer has noticed in a former number of this journal a remarkable fact, in connection with the province of Oudh, that, if from the total mortality be taken that due to fevers alone, we have a death-rate from all other causes, cholera included, considerably under that returned for the United Kingdom. This is very remarkable, especially if it be considered that by far the greater number of these fevers are of malarious origin, and are almost unknown in the British Islands.

In the absence of any complete or even reliable health-statistics of the native population during the past ten years, the following table showing deaths and admissions in the European army from 1862 to 1872,* illustrates the fact that the sanitary measures put in force during this period, while apparently very effectual in lessening the number of cases and virulence of cholera, dysentery, and diarrhoea, have been powerless so far as fevers are concerned. This table exhibits the percentage of admissions to hospital and deaths per 1,000 for each year separately, and shows also the total for the first five years of the decade compared with that of the last five years.

		DEATHS PER 1,000 OF AVERAGE STRENGTH.			ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITAL PER CENT. OF AVERAGE STRENGTH.			
		Cholera.	Dysentery and Diarrhoea.	Fevers.	Cholera.	Dysentery and Diarrhoea.	Fevers.	
1861	...	23.73	5.36	3.97	3.71*	22.21	71.52	
1862	...	9.61	3.57	3.34	1.57	16.83	80.58	
1863	...	4.09	3.73	2.92	0.55	14.49	73.90	
1864	...	2.55	2.30	3.14	0.37	13.39	54.23	
1865	...	3.12	2.87	3.71	0.43	14.04	52.85	
		333.08	80.96	6.63	16.08	17.83	43.10	
1866	...	1.37	2.17	3.23	0.23	12.90	46.83	
1867	...	13.84	2.37	2.63	2.09	13.08	46.57	
1868	...	1.81	1.71	2.88	0.27	11.41	46.24	
1869	...	16.46	3.55	4.71	2.57	14.54	75.03	
1870	...	0.63	2.07	4.28	0.15	10.28	82.45	
		34.11	11.87	17.73	5.31	62.21	298.12	

* Taken from Dr. Bryden's "Vital Statistics of the Armies and Jails of the Bengal Presidency, 1858-69."

The above table, while exhibiting the apparent effect of sanitary measures—minus drainage—on the health of the British troops in the Bengal Presidency, does not give any idea of the relative amount of sickness and mortality from the same diseases among the native population. Natives suffer far less from cholera and dysentery, in proportion to their number, than Europeans.

When the terrible outbreak of cholera among the British troops at Mián-Mír was at its worst, the native population of the adjoining city of Lahor was almost free from the disease. This is not a solitary instance; in many other stations the same conditions were present, and it may be taken as a settled fact that wherever cholera occurs the British soldier suffers by far the most.*

But the application of sanitary measures to the prevention of disease has been almost altogether confined during the past ten years to the military and principal civil stations of the Presidency; while the village populations have been, on the whole, left to shift for themselves, losing sight of an important fact well expressed in the "Remarks by the Army Sanitary Commission upon 'Memorandum on measures adopted for Sanitary Improvement in India up to the end of 1867,'" as follows:—

"Groups of native population in their present state are the 'centres from which cholera originates; and not until the sources 'of this and other pestilences are cut off, can the health of troops 'be considered safe."

As year succeeds year, and facts relating to sanitary matters accumulate and are recorded, it becomes proved to demonstration that we hold in our own hands the power of preventing both epidemic and endemic disease.

The station of Utakamand, in the Madras Presidency, placed at an elevation of 6,000 feet above the sea, was specially selected as a sanitarium owing to the healthiness of the locality; yet, in the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Madras for 1867, it is shown that the healthiness of the station had then so far deteriorated that fatal typhoid fever had become endemic among the residents, and to such an extent as "to make it dangerous for invalids to resort to it at all." The causes of this rapid change in the healthy character of the station are stated to be due to—

"1.—Absence of healthy plan and construction; as also, of proper arrangement of houses.

"2.—Absence of efficient drainage and cleansing, so that the ground has become soddened with filth.

"3.—Pollution of water sources."

* This fact is well illustrated by the following statistics of attacks and deaths among European and Native troops occurring at the same stations and at the same dates:—

ATTACKS PER 1,000.
British Troops ... 89.20

Native Troops ...	...	9.56
DEATHS PER 1,000.		
British Troops ...	...	53.68
Native ...	...	4.11

Bryden's Report on the cholera of 1866-68, &c.

As in Utakamaud so throughout India the source of every epidemic and endemic disease may be traced to the causes enumerated above ; which, being introduced by human agency, are removable by the same means.

This being granted, it becomes the first duty of those who administer the affairs of this country to see that, so far as in their power lies, the means for putting in force the sanitary measures required be supplied. The field for the application of such measures is vast, the work which must be done is enormous ; but " many hands make light work," and the people themselves must act in the matter. But this they never will do until they are first clearly shown the necessity for the measures proposed to be carried out, and then should they refuse to render assistance they must be compelled.* It is a clearly established point in English law that no man has a right to injure his neighbour by creating nuisances in and about his dwelling ; and nowhere does this law so much require to be enforced as in this country, where it becomes a question, not merely of comfort, but also of life.

India is, essentially, the country of pilgrims, and these have been long recognised as originators and disseminators of disease. Where great multitudes of people are collected in a confined space in a tropical climate, without any arrangements for the removal of refuse matters or the supply of pure drinking water, it is not to be wondered at that disease will originate among them, and on their dispersion be carried far and wide throughout the country. Much has been done during the past ten years to mitigate the evil resulting from this source. At most of the places of pilgrimage sanitary measures have been put in force, arrangements made to prevent crowding, to remove refuse matters, and ensure a supply of good drinking water. These have been followed by most encouraging results, especially at the great places of pilgrimage in the Madras Presidency. In a memorandum by the Army Sanitary Commission on the " Report and order of the Madras Government, regarding the control of pilgrimages in the Madras Presidency," the excellence of the measures adopted is recognised, and the fact that cholera and other epidemic diseases may be prevented or arrested by sanitary measures attested as follows :—

* The Municipal Commissioner for the City of Bombay remarks, in his Report for 1868, that there is much encouragement from the consideration that in three years the masses have begun to learn that such scourges as cholera, fever, and the like can be prevented by the ordinary precautions

of sanitation, by cleanliness in dwellings, by pure water and ventilation. He says : " Few know, as we do, how much the poorer classes have been persuaded to do for themselves, to improve their dwellings, and how much money they have really spent in these improvements."

" This report contains facts of great interest and importance regarding cholera in India. It shows not only that breathing foul air and drinking foul water lead to a development of cholera among bodies of pilgrims apparently in good health, but that with very moderate care in preventing the atmosphere being fouled by human excreta spread over the country, or by other nuisances ; by providing free ventilation and by protecting water sources from impurity, large bodies of people may come together, hold their fairs or pilgrimages, and return home without taking cholera.

" The experience of Congeveram and Humphi is most important to the future management of pilgrimages as well as to the future prevention of cholera everywhere, for it indicates the direction in which efforts for the prevention of cholera should be made in India. On comparing the experience at Congeveram and Humphi with that at Hurdwar, the necessity of removing all excrementitious and other noxious matters away from camps and towns instead of burying them among or near the population is clearly shown.

" It is most satisfactory to know that an arrest can be put on cholera by these simple and easy measures of prevention, which have, moreover, the experience of all past epidemics in Europe " to sustain them."

While little has been done, practically, during the past decade towards the improvement of the sanitary condition of the Bengal Presidency generally, it is satisfactory to know that a vast amount of information regarding matters that affect the public health has been collected during this time, and set forth in the Reports of the Local Sanitary Commissioners, and in the Annual Reports of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.

Dr. Cunningham's Report for 1867 contained the history of the cholera epidemic of that year in Northern India, which was supposed to have had its origin at the great Hurdwar fair. On consideration of this Report the Army Sanitary Commission recommended that a special inquiry into the whole subject of epidemic cholera, in the East should be instituted. The result was that two young medical officers, Drs. Lewis and Cunningham, of the British and Indian Medical Services respectively, were sent to Calcutta in the latter part of 1868, to enter upon this special inquiry. These gentlemen happened to be first of the several candidates for commissions in their respective services in the beginning of that year ; and it was believed that, in selecting officers at the commencement of their service, there would be this advantage, that, while thoroughly acquainted with the latest teaching on the subjects, their minds would be unprejudiced by any theories which as senior officers they might have formed or adopted. In 1868 the

theories of Hallier and Petenkoffer regarding the etiology of cholera were the subject of much interest to the whole medical profession, and were by many accepted as proved. It was, therefore, deemed advisable that the first part of this inquiry should be devoted to ascertain on what foundation these theories rested ; and Drs. Lewis and Cunningham were, therefore, directed to proceed first to Germany and study the subject there with the authors of the theories.

On their subsequent arrival in India these officers proceeded to investigate the merit of these theories ; and Dr. Lewis published, in 1870, the result of his inquiries, which was the disproof of Hallier's theory that any special fungus was characteristic of choleraic evacuations. Dr. Cunningham's account of his investigation of Petenkoffer's theory in the Madras Presidency was published last year in the "Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India." The author considers it premature, in the absence of required data, to form any final conclusion, and thinks it very desirable that the existence of any facts in favour of the soil theory should be distinctly put forward, and the more so, that there seems to be enough of these to forbid its wholesale rejection.

Although the Reports of both Drs. Lewis and Cunningham are of the highest scientific interest, we must consider that, practically at least, the time occupied in writing them has been wasted. We see little prospect of true sanitary progress for the future if the scientific investigation of the etiology of disease in India is to be confined by Government to testing the truth of theories. For, as Miss Nightingale has well remarked, "the public health question is not a question of opinion. It is a question—

" 1.—Of what is fact ?

" 2.—Of what is practicable and expedient ?

" However ingenious a theory may be, the wisest thing is never "to expend public money on it" ; and again—"the questions "to be dealt with are either questions of fact or they are nothing. "No speculative matter should ever peep out of or creep into "public health reports intended to lead to practical action."*

Can we estimate the public good that might have resulted had these gentlemen been free from the day they arrived in India to investigate the disease as they found it ? Opportunities for determining certain questions are sometimes afforded, which, if not seized at the proper time may not be again available for years to come. We trust such opportunities have not been lost while the dreams of the German professors were being interpreted.

* Report on measures adopted from June 1869 to June 1870, p. 42. for sanitary improvements in India.

However, the Government has initiated real sanitary progress in ordering a special inquiry into the etiology of cholera. Without a knowledge of the causes of the diseases we try to prevent, the means of prevention adopted must be empirical, and their success partial. It is very desirable that the fevers of the Bengal Presidency, to which such an enormous loss of life and physical deterioration of the population are yearly due, be also made the subject of special inquiry, so that we may know how far it is in our power to mitigate or remove them by carrying out sanitary measures which, if known, might prove to be attended with much less difficulty in their execution than our most sanguine hopes lead us, in our present ignorance, to expect.

We should know how far the silting up of the beds of rivers, the construction of barriers to the flow of water, as railway embankments, and irrigation by means of canals affected the health of the inhabitants; and it would be a very great satisfaction to us to be truly informed how far the people of the Bengal Presidency, and especially those of the Hugli district, have had to suffer for the blessings generally believed to be granted them in the form of railways, and elevated, well-made roads in their swampy valleys.

In carrying out an inquiry of this kind, statistics showing, as far as practicable, the nature of the fevers which give rise to this great mortality, should be procured.

We should then know how much is due to deficient drainage—represented by malarious fevers; to insufficient and innutritious food—by relapsing fevers; and to absence of effective conservancy measures—by pythogenic fevers. All these causes no doubt work together,* but it would be well, before entering on any great works, having for their object the removal of any one of them, to know, as far as possible, the nature of the most potent.

But a most important subject for scientific investigation has received very slight attention during the past ten years, namely, the relation of meteorological phenomena to the occurrence of local and epidemic diseases. An attempt has been made, since about the beginning of 1860, to secure the observation of meteorological phenomena by supplying meteorological instruments to the military stations, and making the medical officer of each corps responsible that daily observations are taken and the mean of these entered monthly in a table provided for that purpose, in the Annual Sanitary Report. Every medical officer is thus supposed to be a meteorologist,† and is expected to work out the subject in addition to his professional duties.

* The individual whose whole system has become enfeebled by malarious fevers ill resists the attacks of other fevers, and *vice versa*.

† The only medical officers in the services who are known to have obtained any special instructions in taking meteorological observations

It is sufficiently evident that under such a system the sources of fallacy must be many, the preparation of the reports imperfect, and any attempt to generalise facts, from data thus obtained, impossible.

But, indeed, no facts have been attempted to be generalised from these reports. They are sent in yearly, are glanced at and laid aside, and sanitary science is no richer for their preparation.

To carry out the recommendations of the Cholera Commission of 1861, to make the scientific investigation of the relation of meteorological phenomena to disease a reality and not a sham, we require the appointment, at the principal military stations at least, of each Presidency, of officers specially qualified for the purpose.

As such officers should belong to the medical profession, the expense of the extra appointments would be greatly lessened by making the services of these officers available at the military hospitals. These officers should be retained, if possible, at the same station for at least three *complete* years; they should be selected from the whole body of medical officers serving in India on account of special ability for this inquiry, and should be granted a staff allowance in addition to their ordinary pay.

The officer appointed to head-quarters might, in addition to his own observations, receive, correct, and tabulate the results obtained and forwarded by the provincial officers to the office of the Inspector General of Hospitals.

The observations should be recorded daily in a printed form, distinct from the Annual Sanitary Report, which should be forwarded monthly to the Inspector-General's office.

The kind of form to be used, and the manner in which the inquiry should be carried out, should be determined by the Army Sanitary Commission in consultation with the leading civil and military medical authorities.

To sum up, there has been considerable sanitary progress during the past ten years, but, as regards the Presidency generally, the literature of the subject has gained far more than the people have generally benefited by. Practical efforts in their behalf. Practical sanitary progress, as remarked above, can only fairly be said to have taken place to any extent in the military and chief civil stations. In these, too, much still remains to be done.*

In most military stations the troops are supplied with good drinking water, and in all filters are provided. The conservancy is well attended to, and no possibility now happily exists for the

are those who have passed through consequently are not responsible for the accuracy of the Regimental the Army Medical School since 1860. Meteorological Records.

None of these officers have yet attained the rank of Surgeon, and * In Peshawar, for instance. *

accumulation of enormous heaps of filth in deep cesspools, poisoning the air and water around, as obtained at Mián-Mír at the time of the outbreak of the fatal epidemic of 1861. New barracks on the most approved hygienic principles of construction have been and are being built, and in almost every respect the British soldier is well cared for. But so long as the condition of the rural population remains uncared for, so long as they are permitted to make their dwellings, and the ground about them, and the tanks and wells from which they draw their drinking water, receptacles for every form of filth, so long will epidemics of disease devastate the country, and the British soldier and European resident fall a prey to their virulence.

ART. V.—THE TERRITORIAL ARISTOCRACY OF BENGAL.

NO. II.—THE NADIYA' RA'J.

- 1.—*Kshitisa-bansábalí-charitam* ; or, a Genealogical account of the family of Kshitisa, father of Bhatta Náráyana, in Sanskrit. Translated into English by Pertsch.
- 2.—*Krishna Chandra Charitra*, or Life of Krishna Chandra Ráya. By Rájib Lochan Mukharji, in Bengáli.
- 3.—*Sír ul Muta Khírín*. Translated by Mustaphá.
- 4.—*Charithshtak*. By Kálí May Ghatak, in Bengali.

NADIYA' (or Nuddea) was founded by Lakshman Sen, son of Ballál Sen, King of Gaur, in 1063. The Bhágirathí enjoys a sanctity not pertaining to the Mahánadí on which Gaur is situated ; and hence Nadiyá was considered from a Hindú point of view a more desirable royal residence than the latter. Ballál Sen and the members of his family used to pay frequent visits to Nadiyá for the purpose of cleansing their sins by ablution in the waters of the Bhágirathí. On the other side of the river there is a large mound still called after Ballál Sen. It was recently dug up by one Mullá Sáhíb ; who discovered some *barkoses* or wooden trays, and a box containing remnants of shawls and silken dresses, and also some small silver coins. There is also a *dighí* or lake called *Balláldighí*. It is on the east of the Bhágirathí, and on the west of the Jalangi. The founder, Lakshman Sen, built a palace of which the ruins are still extant. It was situated on the south of a tank called *Bil-pukur*, on the east of the Bhágirathí, on the west of the Jalangi, and on the north of Samudra-gariá. Nadiyá at the time of its foundation was situated right on the banks of the Bhágirathí ; but the river has now completely altered its course. It used formerly to run behind the *Balláldighí* and the palace ; but it has now dwindled in that part into an isolated *khál*. It now runs to the east of the ruins of the palace. The old Nadiyá was rent in twain by the Bhágirathí ; at length the northern part has been swept away, whilst the southern part has been increased by accretions, and constitutes the new Nadiyá. Nadiyá was one of the capital cities of Bengal under the Hindú ráj ; and continued to be so till A.D. 1203. Lakshmaniyá, the son of Lakshman, was the last Sen Rájá of Bengal, and ruled nominally for 80 years. He was distinguished for his love of justice. He was a posthumous child. Previous to his birth, the astrologers had predicted that, if the child should be born before a particular hour, his destiny would be an inglorious one, but if that event could be possibly postponed till the termination of the predicted hour, he should

enjoy a very long and prosperous reign. His brave mother forthwith issued instructions to her attendants, that without paying attention to her safety, they should use their best exertions to postpone her delivery. The result was the birth at a somewhat later hour, but the intrepid Rání did not survive this experiment upon herself.

In the year above mentioned Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí marched with his troops from Bihár to Nadiyá. On approaching the environs of the city he concealed his troops in a dense *jungle*; and, escorted by only seventeen body-guards, entered the palace. On being challenged by the Rájá's sepoys, he informed them that he was an envoy from the Court of Dehli. His movements were managed with such celerity and secrecy, that his entrance into the palace was not suspected till he and his horsemen had passed the inner gates. Drawing their swords they slaughtered the royal attendants. The Rájá, who was then seated at breakfast, alarmed by the noise and cries of the household, made his escape from the palace, and in a small *dinghi* went down the river. The mass of the Muhammadan troops concealed in the forest, now advanced towards the city and took easy possession of it. Bakhtyár Khiljí gave up the palace to be plundered by his army; and then proceeded to Lakhnautí, or the ancient city of Gaur, the then capital of Bengal.

The Nadiyá family derives its descent directly from Bhattanáráyana, the chief of those five Bráhmans who had been imported from Kanauj by Adisura, King of Bengal, for the performance of certain purificatory rites.

The following were successively the chiefs of Nadiyá:—

Bhattanáráyana.	Kásinátha.
Nipu.	Ráma Samuddhára.
Haláyudha.	Durgádása, (Májmuát-dár
Harihara.	Bhavánanda).
Kandarpa.	Srí Krishna.
Biswambhara.	Gopála.
Narahari.	Rághaba.
Náráyana.	Ruðraráya.
Priyankura.	Rámjithana.
Dharmángara	Rám Krishna.
Tárápati.	Rámjithana.
Káma.	Raghu Ráma.
Biswanátha.	Krishna Chandra.
Ráma Chandra.	Siva Chandra.
Subuddhi.	Iswara Chandra.
Trilóchana.	Girisa Chandra.
Kansári.	Srísá Chandra.
Shashthidása.	Satísá Chandra.

We find several interesting particulars connected with the career of some of the above mentioned Rájás ; but these are overlaid by tradition. Sifting the wheat from the chaff, we perceive that Bhattanáráyana built up his estate from the villages which Adisura had in part sold and in part granted to him. These villages were enjoyed by him exempt from taxation for twenty-four years. What is recorded by Sanskrit writers of the Rájás, commencing from Nipu, the son of Bhattanáráyana, to Káma, is very little to our purpose. They are said to have been wise and virtuous rulers ; but it appears that their administrations were sterile of events. Biswanátha was the first Rájá who proceeded to Dehli, and was confirmed in the Ráj by Muhammad of Ghazni in consideration of an annual tribute. He made additions to his ancestral zamindáris, by the purchase of Parganá Kámkádi and other properties. The next Rájá whose administration deserves to be chronicled was Kásinátha. He was the first of his race who met with the vicissitudes of fortune. During his government it happened, that from a troop of elephants which had been sent from the Rájá of Tripurá to Akbar, Emperor of Delhi, being his annual tribute, one large elephant escaped ; and straying about in a great forest, broke into villages and alarmed their inhabitants. The Rájá of Nadiyá learning that this elephant had broken into one of his villages and done considerable mischief, hunted the animal to death. This circumstance having been reported to His Majesty, peremptory orders were issued to the Governor of Jámbhágira to take the Rájá prisoner and send him up to Dehli.

Jámbhágira, or more properly speaking Jahángíra, was the city of Dháká, founded by the Emperor Jahángír in 1608. Islám Khán was appointed the first Subahdár. It was the head-quarters of the Subahdárs of Bengal, representing the Emperor of Delhi, and exercising great influence over the Rájás of this province. To him the Fauzdárs of Murshidábád and Huglí were subordinate. The seat of the local Government was afterwards transferred from Dháká to Murshidábád ; and the former city became a Fauzdári, or the seat of a subordinate Fauzdár.

Resuming the thread of our narrative, we find that Kásinátha having received timely information of the proceedings of the Emperor, fled towards the banks of the Bhágirathí, but the army of the Governor followed and captured him. He was there put to death. His wife, who was with child, proceeded to live in the house of Harikrishna Samuddhara. Her child when born was named Ráma. He acquired much learning and became a great favourite with Harikrishna, owing to his many amiable qualities and his descent from an illustrious family. Harikrishna died, bequeathing to Ráma his little kingdom of Pátkabári, which is supposed to have been situated between Plassey and Jalany on

the banks of the river Jalangí. In consequence of Ráma being born in the house, and having inherited the kingdom of Samuddhára, he was called by the name of Ráma Samuddhára. His wife bore him four sons, called Durgádása, Jagadís, Hariballabha, and Subuddhi. Durgádása, the eldest Ráj Kumár, was once sojourning on the banks of the river to witness sports and dances, when a Muhammadan chief arrived from Dehli in a large fleet and with a large retinue. His arrival was the signal for the stoppage of the dances and the disappearance of the spectators. Durgádása was the only person who maintained his place. The chief asked him: "Tell me, Bráhmaṇ, how many kros is it from here to the city known by the name of Huglí?" Durgádása gave the required information, at which the chief said to him,—“I am highly pleased with your fearlessness and other virtues; come with me then to the country of Huglí.” Durgádása readily complied with his request, and accompanied him to Huglí, where he was appointed Kánúngo. Durgádása at first demurred to the appointment, and said,—“We are kings by inheritance, and know not how to serve others.” The chief replied,—“Then I will write to the Sultán of Dehli that he grant you a title and a kingdom; but now do as I bid you.” Durgádása obeyed this injunction and entered upon the duties of his office as Kánúngo. On the recommendation of his superior, the Emperor conferred on him, in due time, the title of Majmuádár Bhavánaṇda. Some time after he retired from the service, and built a palace at Ballabhapura; and having inherited the kingdom of his father, Rama Samuddhára, ruled for twenty years. His other brothers lived in happiness, each building a palace of his own, Hariballabha at Fathipur, Jagadís at Kodálgáchhi, and Subuddhi at Pátkabárá. The family originally lived in a palace in Parganá Báguá, constituting the largest zamíndárá of the Nadiyá ráj. But after Kásínátha paid the forfeit of his life for killing the elephant, his son Ráma, as we have seen, lived and ruled in Pátkabárá.

At this time, of all the contemporaneous Rájás, Pratápáditya, the chief of Yasohara or Jessor, was the most powerful. He had subdued or rather humbled eleven Rájás; Bengal being now supposed to have been divided into twelve principalities or large zamíndárá. He defied even the authority of the Emperor, refusing him tribute and vanquishing more than once the Mughal armies. The Sundarbans placed him for some time in an impregnable position, and enabled him to carry on a guerrilla war. He was an usurper, having banished the rightful Rájá, his nephew Kachú Ráya. In spite of his adverse circumstances, Kachú Ráj contrived to acquire a respectable knowledge of the Sástras, and the military art as then practised.

Fortified with this knowledge and relying upon his rights, he

proceeded to Dehli, for the purpose of moving the Emperor to recognise his claim to the Jessor ráj. On reference being made to the Subahdár of Jahángíra and the Fauzdár of Huglí, they reported favourably on the claim of Kachn Ráya. The Emperor, already enraged against Pratápáditya for his insolence and rebellion, determined to punish this refractory vassal for his usurpation, and appoint his nephew to the ráj. Accordingly he deputed his General Mánsingh to Jessor, for the purpose of bringing the rebel Rájá to his senses. The avenging Muhammadan army with their general arrived by boat at Chákdah, on the road to Jessor. But their arrival was the signal for the flight of all the neighbouring Rájás. Majmuádár Bhavánanda was the only Rájá who remained at his post. He paid his homage to the General, and offered a golden ring and other ornaments as his *nazar*, declaring—"Lord of great power! on your arrival all kings of this land have fled; only I, lord of a few villages, have remained here to see your Grace, the King of Justice; if you desire me, who am here to congratulate you, to do anything for you, be pleased but to order it." To this Mánsingh replied—"Well then, Majmuádár, make the necessary preparations for passing the river, that my soldiers may safely reach the opposite bank." "My Lord," answered the Majmuádár, "although I have but a small retinue, yet at the orders of your Grace all shall be performed." He then collected a large number of boats and transports, and led the whole army across the river. When Mánsingh himself had reached the opposite bank, he offered his cordial thanks to Majmuádár for helping the expedition. But at this time, the further march of his army was arrested by foul weather which lasted for a whole week. What with this untoward event and the shortness of rations, the army was nearly paralyzed; but Majmuádár became the Commissary General, and fed the army with his own stores. When the weather cleared up, Mánsingh thus addressed the Majmuádár: "Tell me after how many days or on what day can I arrive from here at the capital of Pratápáditya? and on which side is the entrance of the army practicable? Write it down accurately and give it to me." Majmuádár prepared and submitted the required statement. Mánsingh was much pleased with the information supplied to him, and addressed him thus: "Oh high-minded Majmuádár, when I return again from the subjection of Pratápáditya you shall utter a wish and I will certainly grant it. But come yourself along with me to the capital of Pratápáditya." Pratápáditya defended himself boldly, and after showing a great deal of courage, was overcome. His fort was stormed, and he was captured, pinioned and shut up in an iron cage to be taken up to Dehli; but he died on the way at Benares. Mánsingh remained in Bengal from 1589 to 1606. The

events here narrated took place between those years. To Majmuádár, Mánsingh said,—“I have been pleased by the zeal which you have manifested in this war; and you also saved the lives of my soldiers during the foul weather which lasted without interruption for seven days. Utter therefore any wish you please, and I will certainly fulfil it.” Majmuádár then narrated his antecedents, informing Mánsingh of the flight of his grandfather Kásinátha, and his subsequent capture and violent death, and the settlement of his grandmother and father at Pátkábarí; and expressed a wish to be reinstated in his ancestral possessions. Mánsingh promised to further his petition, and took him up to Dehli. He then presented the Majmuádár to the Emperor Jahángír, and brought to his Majesty’s notice the valuable services rendered by him in the expedition against Pratápáditya. His Majesty was much pleased with the conduct of Majmuádár; and in compliance with the recommendation of his general restored him to his rāj, and conferred on him the title of Mahárájá.

According to Bhárat Chandra, the author of *Anudá Mangal*, who flourished in the time of Rájá Krishna Chandra, Jahángír held an animated discussion with the Majmuádár on the comparative merits of the Muhammadan and Hindú religions. His Majesty dwelt on the evils of idolatry. He pointed out the absurdity of worshipping images of stone, wood, and clay, instead of the one true and living God. He condemned the law under which the Hindú women losing their husbands are precluded from re-marrying; and deplored their perpetual widowhood as unnatural and revolting. He also condemned the shaving of the beard as unnatural; and the expression of homage by prostration and lowering of the head as undignified. He characterised the Bráhmau priests as a crafty tribe, doing one thing and teaching another. He lamented the future of the Hindús, who were wedded to a debasing and demoralizing idolatry; and inculcated that God was not incarnate but formless. The Majmuádár attempted a feeble and inconclusive reply, arguing that the the Purámas and the Kurán inculcated substantially the same cardinal doctrines; that whether God was incarnate or not, those who worshipped him were equally entitled to salvation; that all objects, whether stones or clay, were pervaded by the spirit of the Creator. The only remarkable idea to which Majmuádár gave utterance in the course of the discussion, was that there was not much to choose between Muhammadanism and Hinduism, but that the religion of the Firinghis (Europeans) was better than both, inasmuch as it recognised neither the right, of circumcision practised by the Muhammadans, nor that of *Karnabedh* or ear-boring practised by the Hindús; but that it recognised only one God, ignored all distinctions of castes, and laid no restrictions on eating and drinking.

Majmuádár returned to his palace at Ballabhapura ; and he took possession of the 14 Parganás which the farmán of Jahángír had awarded to him. He erected a palace in the city called Matiyári ; and removed there because it was more central than Ballabhapura with reference to his newly acquired and more extended dominions. Matiyári is 69 miles from Calcutta, and is now a railway station. He also built another palace in the village called Dinliyá ; and set up an image there.

At this time the Subahdár of Jahángíra began to cast longing eyes on the kingdom of the Majmuádár ; and with a view to obtain the government of it, sent a messenger called Murád to call him into his presence. Majmuádár obeyed the summons and proceeded to Jahángíra, accompanied by his grandson, Gopíramana. On his arrival he was treacherously cast into prison. But his grandson so pleased the Subahdár by the exhibition of several proofs of his extraordinary physical prowess, that he persuaded His Excellency to liberate his grandfather. On his arrival at home, the Majmuádár manifested his gratitude to the gods by pújás and sacrifices.

After this the Majmuádár communicated to his three sons, Srí Krishna, Gopála, and Gobinda Ráma, his intention to divide his ráj among them. "Take my kingdom, I have divided it into equal shares." But the eldest son, Srí Krishna, objected. "No, the kingdom shall not be divided ; to the eldest, according to custom, belongs the whole." "You are very wise and learned," replied the Majmuádár angrily, "why do you not procure yourself another kingdom?" "If your Highness' feet permit me the observation," answered Srí Krishna, "what is there wonderful in that?" Fired by his ambition to win his way to a kingdom, he proceeded straight to Delhi and obtained with much difficulty an audience with the Emperor, to whom he communicated his circumstances and wishes. His Majesty, pleased with his self-reliance and enterprise, conferred on him a farmán assigning over the government of two valuable Parganás, Khosádaha and Ukhada. Some time after he acquired this estate, he returned home and delighted his old father with the recital of the whole story. After the death of the Majmuádár, Gopála and Gobinda Ráma governed the divided ráj of their father, and Srí Krishna ruled over the Parganás he had gained for himself. Srí Krishna died childless of small-pox ; his brother Gopála, too, after seven years, was gathered to his fathers. He was succeeded by his son Rághaba, who erected in the village called Reui a large residence, containing magnificent palaces and a seraglio. Rághaba also excavated an immense lake, and celebrated its dedication to Siva by a grand festival.

There were among the host of invited guests, learned pandits from Anga, Banga, Kási and Kánchi. There were Rájás and Ráj Kumárs,

Mantris and ministers from various districts. There were streams of ghee and milk and honey and spirituous liquors for the entertainment of the guests. There were hills of wheat and barley, rice and peas. These grand preparations elicited the applause of the assembled guests.

Rághaba was scrupulously punctual in the payment of the tribute to the Emperor; and his punctuality was rewarded by a donation of elephants from His Majesty.

Rághaba was succeeded by his son Rudraráya, whose career was eventful. Rudraráya erected at Navadwípa a temple dedicated to Siva. He changed the name of the place Reui, where his father had built a royal residence, into (Kishnaghur) Krishnanagar, in honour of Krishna. He also constructed a canal extending northward and southward, and connected it with the moat surrounding Krishnanagar. The Emperor having heard of his public spirit and public works, conferred upon him by *farmán* the government over the two *Paraganás* Khan and Jun; and as a token of further favour confirmed his title of Maharájá. His Majesty further accorded to him the permission which none of his predecessors, and in fact no other Rájá of Bengal had been able to obtain, to erect upon his palace a story which is called Kangarh or a turret; and made a donation of arrows, flags and drums. In acknowledgment of these favours, the Maharájá sent to the Emperor a *nazar* of 1,000 head of cattle, a mass of gold equal to his own weight, and other valuable gifts.

Basking in the sunshine of imperial favour, the Maharájá did not think it worth his while to conciliate the Governor of Jahángíra or to send him tribute. The Governor being highly irritated at his conduct, wrote to the Fauzdárs of Murshidábád and Huglí and other subordinate authorities, to inform them that Rudraráya affecting equality with himself would neither pay the tribute nor obey his orders, and he ordered that they must contrive to take him prisoner and send him to his city. In compliance with these orders Rudraráya was enticed by some stratagem to the vicinity of Huglí, and thence brought to Jahángíra. Rudraráya paid the Subahdár his respects, and carefully observed the etiquette due to the Nawáb, thereby disarming his anger. His Excellency was much pleased with him, and showed him great attention. He obtained his permission to return home. He brought with him from Jahángíra an architect named Alana Khán, by whose aid he erected a new palace at Krishnanagar. He also built a separate *nách-ghar* or concert-hall; and also a *pákháná*, or stables for his elephants and horses. But the most useful public work erected by him was a broad and high causeway between Krishnanagar and Sántipur, connecting his new capital with one of the most populous towns and celebrated cloth marts of his ráj. The grave of Alana Khán is still to be found in Krishnanagar.

Chauk. Ho himself is canonised, and is generally called Allaldastur Pír. Though fond of magnificent buildings, yet the Mahárájá lived a simple and primitive life. His personal wants were few, but his donations were many and large. He governed his ráj with tolerable justice and impartiality, tempered of course by his recognition of the prescriptive rights and privileges of the Bráhmanical class. He was succeeded by his son Ránjibana. The latter having incurred the displeasure of the Fauzlar of Jahángíra, was displaced in the ráj by his brother Ráma Krishna, who had a long and prosperous reign. During his time, the Rájá of Bardwán plundered the capital of Sobhá Singh, Rájá of Chetuyá. The latter resenting this attack, and being resolved to revenge himself, led his army through a wood by an unknown route, passed the river Dámodar and took up his station before Bardwán. He attacked the Bardwán chief and slew him, and established his authority over Bardwán. Jagadháma, the son of the Rájá of Bardwán, took refuge in the court of the Rájá of Nadiyá. Emboldened by his success and strengthened by the co-operation of Rahman Khán of Orissa and the Marhattás, Sobhá Singh sent his generals against several royal cities for the purpose of undermining the authority of the sovereign of Dehli in Bengal. Aurangzeb, who then reigned at Dehli, was greatly enraged by the intelligence of the conquest of Bardwán by Sobhá Singh. He immediately organised an expedition for the purpose of punishing the rebel Rájá of Chetuyá; and placed at its head his grandson Azim-us-Shan. When the Mughal army arrived at Murshidábád, news reached them of the death of Sobhá Singh. He was killed while in a state of drunkenness by the daughter of Krishna Ráma, the late Rájá of Bardwán, in defence of her honour. Upon this Himmat Singh, the younger brother of Sobhá Singh, came with a great army to Bardwán, and began to plunder that city as his brother had done. He also attacked Ráma Krishna, the Rájá of Nadiyá, but was defeated. At this time Prince Azim-us-Shan arrived from Murshidábád at Plassey. Having heard there of the outrages committed by Himmat Singh, he hastened with his army to Chetuyá (perhaps the modern Chitor Barda in Midnapur), where he attacked Himmat Singh and defeated him. The prince is said to have used in the battle fire-arms called Jelala or Jinjal, a sort of musket fixed on a swivel. Prince Azim-us-Shan remained for some time in Bengal, for the purpose of regulating the affairs of Bardwán and other districts. All the Rájás of Bengal waited upon and paid homage to His Highness, but most of them came attended with only a few followers, not daring to show their wealth. Ráma Krishna came surrounded by a stately retinue, on which the prince declared: "These are no princes, but offspring of low families,

else they would have been attended by retinues. But prince Ráma Krishna is the offspring of a great family, for he alone has a stately retinue, comparable to my own; he himself too appears like a second Kandarpa and shines before one like the sun, and is like Vrihaspati in his spirit; he is surrounded by numerous soldiers, waited upon by hosts of ministers, who themselves are honoured by retinues in splendid carriages. Thus he is a man gladdening the eyes of such a person as I am, and certainly the first among the princes of Gaur and those of other countries." The result of this interview was the growth of a great intimacy between the prince and the rájá. The prince repeatedly declared the great pleasure he had derived from his intercourse with Ráma Krishna, and expressed the high opinion he had formed of his ability and character. The prince having settled the affairs of Bardwán and the neighbouring districts, proceeded to Jahángíra, where he resided for some time. While he was at Jahángíra, the prince reported to his grandfather the valuable services rendered by Ráma Krishna.

Jagat Seth, the Rothschild of India, paid a visit at this time to Ráma Krishna at Nadiyá. He remained for a month and was comfortably lodged and sumptuously entertained at Krishnanagar.

The family of Jagat Seth requires some mention here. The family and firm of Jagat Seth were the creditors of kings and nawábs, and subsequently of the Honourable East India Company. In consequence of the immensity of their transactions and the magnitude of the loans granted by them, the title of Jagat Seth or the Banker of the World was conferred on the representative of the family by the Emperor of Delhi. The following extract from the proceedings of the Council, dated 10th March 1760, will show the connexion of Jagat Seth with the Honourable East India Company.

"Received a letter from the Chief and Council at Dacca, under date the 5th instant, requesting an immediate supply of money, or to permit them to take up money from Jagat Seth's house, otherwise the Company's investment will be at a stand, their treasury being reduced so low that they have not sufficient for the monthly expenses."

Ráma Krishna administered the affairs of the Nadiyá ráj for a long time, living happily at the new capital Krishnanagar, and receiving from the Prince Azim-us-Shan valuable support in the discharge of his duties. He also lived on terms of amity with Vada Sáhib, the then Governor of the English settlement at Calcutta; the latter in token of his regard for the Rájá placed at his disposal a garrison of 2,500 soldiers. His was a stirring and aggressive nature. A violent difference having arisen between Ráma Krishna and the Rájá of Yasohara (Jessor) in regard to the bound-

aries of certain villages, he marched to Yasohara and vanquished the Rájá. This achievement, as well as the favour he enjoyed at the court of Dehli, established his power on a solid foundation, enhancing his influence over the neighbouring Rájás, and securing him against the extortions and oppressions of the Subahdár. Jafar Khán, the then Subahdár, being unable to do him an injury, allured him to Jahángíra, where by treachery he was closely confined. He died in prison of small-pox. The news of his death very much grieved Azim-us-Shan, who instructed Jafar Khán to confer the ráj on the lineal descendant of Ráma Krishna. His Highness wrote to the Subahdár to ask if there was a son, a foster-son, a grandson, or any such relation of Ráma Krishna, in order that the ráj should be conferred on him. Jafar Khán replying that there was no such relation, the prince ordered,—“Then give it to any minister of Ráma Krishna who is fit for the government and who will protect the wife and family of Ráma Krishna.” Jafar Khán replied,—“Your Highness, there is no such minister; Ráma Krishna’s elder brother, however, Prince Rámjibana, lives in prison here. If you command, I will commit the kingdom to him.” No other alternative being left to him, the prince sanctioned the proposal of Jafar Khán. Rámjibana was thus entrusted with the ráj for a second time. He had of course to pay the full price for the favour thus shown by Jafar Khán. He was fond of poetry, and especially of the drama. He patronised the *náttaks*, and his court was frequently enlivened by dramatic performances. He had a son, Raghu Ráma, who was endowed with a benevolent heart and a genius for warlike pursuits. He rendered a signal service to Jafar Khán by assisting his General, Láhuri-malla, in vanquishing the army of the Rájá of Rájsháhi; who in consequence of a quarrel with the Subahdár had taken up his position with a considerable force near the village of Vírakáti. In recognition of this service, his father, Rámjibana, who had been a second time imprisoned by Jafar Khán, not at Jahángíra but at Murshidábád, his new headquarters, was liberated. Raghu Ráma during the life-time of his father was blessed with a son of whom a glorious future was predicted. When the child had reached the age of six months, Rámjibana celebrated with great *éclat* his *Anñapráśan*, or the ceremony of feeding him with rice for the first time. He invited learned pandits and powerful rájás from Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Káśi, Káuchí, and the adjacent provinces. The ceremony is thus described by the author of *Kshítisa-bansábalí charitam*. “For their dwelling, he built a camp of a *kros* in length and half a *kros* in breadth, which was constructed of cloth and the like, resplendent with ranges of various palaces, adorned with rows of white, blue, yellow, and other flags, and surrounded by a fence likewise of

cloth and similar materials. There he deposited stores of the daintiest provisions and appointed a number of ministers to cater for the entertainment of the assembled princes and Bráhmans, and also for those of various castes who had come without being invited to witness the feast. There were provided stores of various and abundant provisions; there were many streams of curdled and fresh milk, clarified butter, honey and the like, and innumerable heaps of beans, peas, and similar articles; and the piles of rice and such things, how could they be counted? Then the day before the ceremony, having led the assembled Bráhmans and princes with suitable demonstrations of reverence into the erected dwelling-place, he entertained them with the provisions which he had prepared; the next day when they were sitting in the assembly, he began the ceremony at the auspicious rise of the planets as announced by the astronomers. Then commenced a feast, at whose noise and splendour the earth was astonished. After this, hosts of Bráhmans and princes, satisfied with presents and honours, rejoiced the child with prayers for his happiness; such as, that he might rule over the earth for a long time, endowed with manifold virtues and free from troubles; that in whatever he wished to perform, the highest goddess might give him success—and more the like." The child whose *Annapiśan* was celebrated with such splendour was named at that ceremony Krishna Chandra.

Rámjibana was at this time summoned by Jafar Khán to Murshidábád to settle some account of the tribute due from him; where he died.

Rámjibana was succeeded by his already celebrated son Raghu Ráma. Having governed the ráj for two years at Krishna-nagar, he was arrested by orders of Jafar Khán, and was carried to Murshidábád and was kept there in confinement. He was a very beneficent man, and dispensed his charities from the jail. After some time, he was released and allowed to resume the management of the ráj. He, however, survived his liberation for only four months. He died on the banks of the Bhágirathí in 1728.

The same year Krishna Chandra was anointed as Maháráj.

The administration of Rájá Krishna Chandra marks a new era in the annals of the Nadiyá ráj; but before we dwell on it, we desire to glance at the social, intellectual, and industrial condition of the ráj.

The Nadiyá ráj, originally formed, as we have already observed, out of the few villages of Adisura, gradually extended at this time into an immense province. It was bounded on the north by Murshidábád, on the south by the Bay of Bengal, on the east by Dhulapura, and on the west by the Bhágirathí. It numbered

84 Parganáas, among which may be mentioned Khari, Juri, Okherá, Calcutta, Balandá, Dhulapura, Sántipur, Shaistá Khán, and Pátkábári. Parganá Calcutta embraced all the villages of the 24-Parganáas southward, and a portion of Hugli northward.

The capital of the lineal descendants of Bhattanáráyana, Nadiyá, has always maintained its pre-eminence as the Oxford of this province. The population was at the time of the old Rájás very mixed; and comprised both Muhamnádaas and Hindús. Among the Hindús, the Bráhmaical element predominated; many of the Bráhmans being devoted to literature and philosophy, and leading the lives of scholars. The climate of Nadiyá was healthy, and the necessities and accessories of life were few and primitive. The soil was fertile, and its products sufficed for the wants of the inhabitants. Thus blessed with abundance and freed from the incessant search after comfort and luxury which is the curse of modern civilisation, it is no wonder that the upper classes should have leisure to pursue intellectual avocations. We can therefore have no difficulty in imagining the free and simple life lived by the pandits, and understanding how from an early age their minds were cultivated. Among them may be mentioned several profound pandits who have shed lustre on their age and country. Nyáya Sástra or logic, and Smriti or jurisprudence, have been always sedulously and successfully cultivated. Soon after the foundation of Nadiyá, Abdihodh Yogi migrated there from the Upper Provinces and settled on the banks of the Bhágirathí. He was the first to set up a school of logic, for the cultivation of which the city has since been famous. His principal disciples were Sankar Taikabágis and Baypti Siromani, both of whom wrote several works on logic.

Vásu Deva Stribwabhauma was the founder of another *chatuspáthí*, or regular school for logic, in the village of Vidyánagara in the vicinity of Nadiyá. Of the numerous students who matriculated at the *chatuspáthí*, the most distinguished were Raghu Ráma and Raghunátha Siromani.

Raghu Ráma is to Bengal what Manu was to ancient India: His commentaries have earned for him a conspicuous place among Hindú juriconsults. Raghunátha Siromani has left a commentary on the Gautama Sutra which for profound knowledge of Nyáya and the subtlety of dialectics, and for felicity of illustration, challenges the admiration of the oriental world. In truth Nadiyá was the focus of intellectual development, the land of the Naiyáiks who reasoned and argued on every conceivable topic, the abode of astronomers whose *jyótis* or almanacs still regulate the festivals and *pújas* and the daily domestic concerns of the Hindús.

Raghunátha was the author of another work, exposing the errors of the Chinese *Si*, a standard treatise on the Nyáya Sá-

tras written by Ganes Upādhyāya. The work is entitled *Didhiti*, or "a ray of light." Professing to be a critique and a commentary on Chintāmani, it is one of the most exhaustive treatises on the Nyāya Sāstras. Raghunātha proceeded to Mithilā, and held a literary controversy with the pandits there. He carried away the palm; and his intellectual victory conferred on Nadiyā the power of bestowing degrees on successful students. It gave an unprecedented impetus to the progress of philosophical studies. Students flocked there from all parts of the country. Several of them ripened into profound and distinguished pandits, and the works produced by them are considered of the highest authority. Among these works may be mentioned the *Saddasāstra-kāśikā* by Jagadīs Tarkālankār, the *Saktipād* and *Mukti* by Gadādhara Bhaṭṭāchārjya, and the annotations on *Siromaṇi* by Jagadīs and by Gadādhara, and the *Siddhanta Mukta* of Viśwanātha Nyāyapāṇḍana.

There arose in Nadiyā in the beginning of the 16th century a reformer who was destined to wield immense influence on the masses. Chaitanya flourished during the time of Kāsina, and when Sayyid Husain Sharif of Mecca reigned in Gaur under the title of Sultān Ala-ud-dīn Husain Shāh Sharif of Mecca. It was when Luther was thundering against the indulgences and other abuses of the Christian Church, that Chaitanya preached a new doctrine. That doctrine was the efficacy of Bhakti or faith, distinguished from works. It was an innovation upon the Ved system, which inculcates specific religious duties and the performance of ceremonies and acts. This Bengālī reformer taught that all men are capable of participating in the great sentiments of faith and devotion, and that the members of all castes or cast become pure by such sentiments. He maintained the pre-eminence of faith over caste. The mercy of God was according to his boundless, and not circumscribed by the restrictions of tribe or family. He declared that 'Krishna was Paramātmā, or the Supreme Spirit, prior to all worlds, and both the cause and substance of creation. In his capacity of Creator, Preserver and Destroyer he is Brahmā, Vishnu, and Siva.' Chaitanya became the founder of the largest religious sect in this country, numbering nineteen millions strong, and fortified by an elaborate organization. Its disciples are to be found in almost every village in Bengal. They include some of the wealthiest and most influential families as well as a host of poor and obscure men. Having obtained the sympathy and support of a large class, Chaitanya, new open declared it was his mission to go forth and preach the love of Krishna as the one thing needful for salvation. But the Krishna of Chaitanya was not the son of Debaki, the intended victim of his uncle the tyrant Kansa, the sojourner in Brindāvan,

companion of cowherds, the lover of Rádhá, the favourite of milkmaids and flower women, the terror of husbands, and afterwards the conqueror of Kansa and King of Dwárká ; but the Creator of the universe, and the God of truth, justice, mercy, and love. His Krishna was the great and original Spirit, the Author of creation and the Giver of all good. The age of Kásinátha and his successors was eminently favourable to the reception of the religious tenets he offered to it. The country had undergone great political and social changes. The character of the Hindús had been moulded during some time by Muhammadan conquest, Muhammadan intercourse, Muhammadan laws, and Muhammadan literature. Their minds were at this time fermenting with religious longings to which the doctrine of *Bhakti* inculcated by Chaitanya answered in many ways. A more practical religion than Vedantism, and a purer religion than *Bhavanism*, was eagerly looked for. It is therefore not to be wondered at that the religion of Chaitanya soon took root in Nadiyá, which reverberated with the name of Krishna. Young men and old men of that city gathered round him ; among them was Adaitanandan, who was to him what the Baptist had been to the greatest religious reformer. He addressed them all in a tone of authority and affection, telling them that Krishna was the Saviour, and that they must love him with all their hearts and with all their souls. His preaching was generally heralded by convulsions and fainting fits. This phenomenon was called by his disciples *Pránpraláp*, and continued for hours. During its continuance he forgot all mundane affairs and exclaimed ever and anon Krishna ! Krishna ! This ecstatic state of *Pránpraláp* was attended with mystic sighs and songs of *Haribol*. It was contagious among his disciples and became a conspicuous trait of the new sect. Chaitanya was a mystic. Eating but little and caring nothing for the animal man, he was able to maintain a state of continued excitement. This cerebral and muscular debility contributed in no inconsiderable degree to bring about those alternations of deep sorrow and intense joy, which told so much upon his audience and by means of which he swayed tens of thousands. Chaitanya thought or rather felt that the first and greatest of all works was faith in Krishna. From this all other works must spring. He announced this as a mighty message of joy—a message that thrilled through the hearts of his hearers. He preached that the *Chandála* whose impurity is consumed by the chastening fire of holy faith, is to be revered by the wise, and not the unfailing expounder of the Veda ! Again, "the teacher of the four Vedas is not my disciple. The faithful *Chandála* enjoys my friendship, to him let it be given, and from him be received ; let him be revered even as I am revered." This doctrine was, we repeat, the efficacy of *Bhakti* or faith as contradistinguished from works.

Religious rites and ceremonies were in the opinion of Chaitanya not essentially important; but the appreciation of them by the generality of mankind, and their adaptability to the spread of religious tenets, were fully realised by him. With a view to perpetuate the distinctiveness of his sect and society, and establish an indissoluble bond of union, he insisted on his followers submitting to the initiatory rite of the Mantra. It consisted in the Guru or spiritual guide whispering in the ears of the Sishya (disciple) the mystic words "kling Krishna." Another observance enforced by Chaitanya among his followers was the eating of the *prasād* by them together. A common meal has always been understood to cement and ratify relations of friendship. The brotherhood of Vaishnavas was symbolized in the *prasād*. It was a communion where all the followers, without distinctions of caste, were admitted on equal terms. There was the learned Naiyáik as well as the illiterate *chásá*, the Muhammadan Ráís as well as the Muhammadan Mahut, the Kulin Bráhmaṇ and the Kulin Káyastha as well as the aboriginal Bágdí and the excommunicated *Chundál*, all participating in consecrated rice and *dál* and *málpua*. It was a manifestation of an intimate fellowship between those who shared in this common meal. It is now manifest that one of the distinguishing features of Chaitanya's theocracy was the universal character of the sect he founded. That sect was recruited from all classes of the Hindú as well as the Muhammadan community. No one who desired to enter was refused. To all who knocked at the door admittance was granted. Chaitanya kept an open house and his guests represented all classes, not only of society but of humanity. Chaitanya was most childlike in disposition and character. He was essentially guileless and simple-minded, but a most large-hearted man; and it was in his preaching that he poured out the wealth of that heart. He became a king of men on the Bedi or pulpit which constituted his throne. His sermons were to the Hindús of Bengal, what those of Savonarola were to the Florentines. Like the Italian reformer he was fervid and forcible.

Chaitanya was fond of travelling and became an itinerant preacher. In the course of his peregrinations he came to Rámháli, situated in the suburbs of Gaur, the then capital of Bengal. He delivered there a magnificent sermon. Striking the harp and hymning the praise of Krishna, he touched a chord which resounded and vibrated through Bengal. His utterances were aglow with intense fervour. Thousands of people came to hear him, and the sensation he made was so great as to attract the attention of the King Sayyid Hussain, who deputed an officer to enquire into the matter. The officer reported that the noise had been made by a Sanyás, and that it was not worth while taking further notice of the matter.

But he continued to preach, and all classes of men from all parts of the great city crowded to Rámkálí. Among those who had come to hear him preach were two Muhammadan brothers, Dabir and Khash, holding high employ in the Court of Gaur. They were in fact ministers of Sayyid Husain and enjoyed his entire confidence. They were enraptured with the eloquence of Chaitanya, and became converts to the doctrine of *Bhakti*; they longed to see him in private, and learn at his feet the tenets of the new faith. Accordingly they went to his cottage at midnight and thus addressed him: "Purifier of the fallen, low in descent and occupation, we are afraid of speaking our minds to thee. Saviour of Jagái and Mádhái, have mercy on us. Of Mlechchha descent, these sinners are incomparably more odious than those lordly Bráhmaus of Nadiyá. Our race has sinned greatly against cows and Bráhmans. We are dwarfs standing on tiptoe to catch the moon. Stoop in mercy towards us." Chaitanya cordially received them and assured them of their salvation. "Krishna will save you—henceforth you shall be known to the world under the names of Rup and Sanátan." The reception of two Muhammadan nobles evinced a moral courage of no common order; which, while it showed Chaitanya's deep conviction of the purity and popularity of his faith, afforded conclusive evidence of his extraordinary boldness in disregarding the injunctions of caste and race, and his intention to build religion on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It must be remembered that the convert brothers were members of a court which was intolerant of Hindúism, and served a king who, claiming as he did, direct descent from the Prophet, was particularly aggressive against its doctrines. This act, therefore, was calculated to enlist against the reformer, not only the active antagonism of the king and the court of Bengal, but the hostility of the Hindús who had been accustomed to regard the Muhammadans as Mlechchhas, association with whom, in a Hindú religious point of view, is contamination. He, however, fully expected his disciples to cast aside all antiquated prejudices; and above all, and beyond all, to have faith, which he rightfully applied as the true test of training in Vaishnavism. He was emphatically what the Germans call an epoch-making man; representing some of the best elements of Hindú thought and Hindú character, and illustrating in himself the strength and weakness of Hindú theology. His object was grandly catholic. It was to rebuild Hindú society from its foundation, to exterminate priestcraft, to eradicate the evils of caste, to introduce religious toleration, to assert the right of equality of men, and to establish the relations of his fellow-beings on the principle of a universal brotherhood. A fanatic and a mystic, Chaitanya never deviated from his appointed course; and the immense influence he had

acquired over the hearts of his followers, he applied to the furtherance of no personal objects, but of that religion to which he had consecrated his life and his energies.

The Nadiyá ráj like the rest of Bengal is essentially an agricultural country. Rice has always been, and still is, its staple product. But the rice lands fetched till lately a very small price. The rent of a bighá was in the time of the old Rájás only two annas; it afterwards increased to annas 5-3, a rate that generally obtained till the case of James Hill v. Iswara Ghosh was decided by a Full Bench of the Appellate Side of the High Court under Act X. of 1859. The result of the decision was the enhancement of rent from annas 5-3 to 14 annas and odd pie. Besides rice, sugarcane, and tobacco, the cereals, as well as pulses, are extensively cultivated. The average rent of sugarcane lands is Rs. 2·8 per bighá, and that of tobacco lands Rs. 2. The maximum jamá of máskalái and mug, gram and sessamum lands is one rupee per bighá.

Nadiyá contests with Jessor the palm of growing the best indigo. Both these districts may be called the great indigo districts. Soon after 1782, indigo planting was undertaken as an experimental enterprise and met with complete success. But the exposure by the press and the Indigo Commission, of the unnatural system on which the cultivation and manufacture of indigo were founded, have led to its downfall. The principal marts of the Nadiyá Ráj are Hánskháli, Krishnaganj, Nadanghát, and Sántipur. Hánskháli is the great emporium of gram as well as linseed and tobacco. Nadanghát is the great rice mart of the district. Sántipur is the home of jewellers, goldsmiths, braziers, tailors and clothiers. It is noted for the manufacture of fine cloths; and ranks in this respect second only to the city of Dháká. The Sántipur dhutis and chadars are highly prized by wealthy natives, and are imported into every city and town of Bengal. The manufacture of cotton fabrics attracted the great attention of Government. Factories were erected and gomastahs appointed by the Calcutta Council, which used to export largely the fabrics to the Court of Directors. Nadiyá itself is noted for pottery and modelling. The clay figures of Nadiyá are lifelike and quite as graceful and perfect of their kind as the ivory figures of Murshidábád. Ghurni and Ulá like Nadiyá are famous for modelling clay.

In 1770 a terrible famine broke out in Nadiyá, decimating the population and throwing the lands out of cultivation. It caused an immediate and inordinate fall of rents. The result was the ráj fell into arrears, and its resources did not recover their elasticity till after several years.

One of the first acts of the Maháráj Krishna Chandra Ráya was the celebration of *yajnas*, or festivals called *Aginhotra* and

Ráj-peya. He spent twenty lákhs of rupees in the ceremony. Learned pandits from different parts of Bengal and from Benares came by invitation to assist in the performance of the *yajnas*. They were rewarded with valuable presents according to their respective ranks; and in return for the same, as well as for the recognition of the merits supposed to inhere in the performance of the *yajnas*, they conferred upon him the title of *Agnihotri Bájpai Srimán Maharáj Rájendra Krishna Chandra Ráya*.

He was fond of sport and delighted in hunting, being a capital rider and a splendid shot. On one occasion he organised a large hunting expedition and went in pursuit of game to a place now known as *Sibnibás*. He was so struck with the beauty of the place and its pleasant situation on the banks of the river, that he built a palace there for his occasional residence. He called the place the *Sibnibás Rájbái*, and the river *Kankandá*. He established in connection with the palace an asylum for the infirm and the aged poor, and also several *páthsálds* and *tols* for the benefit of Sanskrit scholars.

Krishna Chandra is described in the *Annarlá Mangal* as the patron of the four *Samájs*, viz., Nadiyá, Kumárhatta, Sántipur, and Bhátpará, all of which towns were noted for learning, and as the seats of scholars. In order to encourage the cultivation of Sanskrit learning, he fixed a monthly allowance of Rs 200 to be paid as stipends to students who should come from a distance to study in the *tols* of Nadiyá. This allowance was perpetuated by his grandson Iswara Chandra, who made arrangements with the Government for its punctual payment. The sum is paid every month from the collectorate of Nadiyá. The munificent patronage accorded by him to various branches of learning constituted the glory of his administration, and has done most to immortalise it. He not only made princely donations to distinguished Pandits, but gave *lákhráj* or rent-free lands for the support of *Chattuspátis*. He gave some lakhs of rent-free bighás to learned Bráhmans. There is a Bengáli proverb still prevalent in the country, that one who does not possess Krishna Chandra's gift is not a genuine Bráhman. The custom of inviting and giving pecuniary presents to learned Bráhmans on occasions of *Sráddhas*, marriages, &c., received a great impetus from him. Among the Pandits who flourished in his Court may be mentioned Srikantha, Kamalákánta, Balaráma, Saukara, Debala, Madhu, Sudana. The other literary personages that flourished under his patronage were Ráma Prasád Sen, a Sanskrit scholar, Bhumeswar Vidyálankár, an eminent poet, Saran Tarkálankár, a Naiyáik or logician, and Anukula Báchaspati, a great astronomer. The Naiyáik Kálidás Siddhwánta was the presiding Pandit of the Court.

Govinda Rāma Rāya of Sugaudhya in Huglí was the physician-in-chief, and was well versed in *Charak*. A distinguished Tāntrik who lived in his time, was Krishnānanda Sārbwabhāuma. He was the author of *Tantrasāra*. He was the first to celebrate the Kālī pūjā, and to establish the custom of illuminating the streets and houses on the night of the pūjā, a custom that has now extended all over India. He was a mystic, and owing to his proficiency in *tantra*, he was called Agambāgis, or the expounder of the *tantras*.

Krishna Chandra himself established the festival called the *Jagadhātri** Pūjā. It takes place generally in the month of October, and lasts for one day and night.

Of the wits and humourists who enlivened the Court of Krishna Chandra, Gopāl Pāl, commonly called Gopāl Bhār, was the principal. He was a *Kumār* or potter by caste, and was a native of Nadiyā. Some say he was a *Napit* or of the barber caste. He was the privileged buffoon of the Mahārājā, and was entitled to take any liberties with him. His caustic and brilliant wit often convulsed the Court with laughter. Like Sir John Falstaff, rather than Don Quixote, he was not only a merry man, but the cause of merriment in others. His jokes were often coarse and caustic. We refrain from giving any specimen, because their point would evaporate in the process of translation. Gopāl's riotous overflow of spirits, his keenness of observation and insight into the weaknesses of men, and his unlimited faculty of fun, rendered him a universal favourite. Muktā Rāma Mukharji, a relative of the Mahārājā, and a *Kulin* of the first water, was another privileged jester. The repartees of Mukharji were trenchant and telling. Himself a mirth-loving man, the Mahārājā was popular among his courtiers for his broad kindly humour, and his honest and large-hearted appreciation of what was witty or clever or learned in others.

Blúrat Chandra Rāya was one of the brightest ornaments of the Court of Krishna Chandra. He was the son of Rājendranārāyan Rāya, who was a respectable and wealthy man and the Zamindār of Farganā Bhursut. The family was that of the Mukharjis; but in consideration of their position and influence, they were called *Rāyas*. He was a precocious child, and mastered the mysteries of *Sankshiptasāstra* at the age of fourteen. His fondness for Sanskrit studies displeased his relations, who naturally thought that an acquaintance with Muhammadan literature was a better passport to wealth and distinction than the Vedas and Purānas. Smarting under their displeasure he commenced the study of the Persian language, and soon made fair progress in it. About this time the mother of Mahārājā Kirtti Chandra of Bardwān having deprived his father of his landed

and other estates, Bhárat Chandra proceeded to Gházipur, and continued to pursue his studies under difficulties. He afterwards sought and obtained the protection and patronage of Indranárayan, the Díván of the French settlement at Chandernagar, who recommended him to Rájá Krishna Chandra. Bhárat Chandra was undoubtedly the first who improved and ennobled the Bengáli language by rendering it the medium of elegant and beautiful poetical composition. No doubt Kabi Kankan had preceded him, and his *Chandi* may be said to be the first Bengáli poem; but in wealth of language, in suavity of style and felicity of illustration, it is not to be compared to the *Annadá Mangal* and its episode *Vidya-sundar*. Bhárat Chandra at first found great difficulty in embodying in Bengáli his ideas on various subjects. He found it inadequate to the expression of nice and subtle distinctions. He met here the same obstacle which Sir James Mackintosh says "stood in the way of Lucretius and Cicero when they began to translate the subtle philosophy of Greece into their narrow and barren tongue; and are always felt by the philosopher when he struggles to express with the necessary discrimination his abstruse reasoning in words, which, though those of his own language, he must take from the mouths of persons to whom his distinctions would be without a meaning." But he obviated these difficulties by the introduction into it of expressive Sanskrit words. The same plan was followed by Rámmohan Ráya in his translations of the *Upanishads* and religious tracts; and also by the editors of the *Tatwabáhiní-Patriká*. To their exertions, therefore, we are largely indebted for the improvement of the Bengáli language. It is an admixture with, and not a severance from, Sanskrit that has contributed to the improvement of the Bengali. The elimination of the Sanskrit would only "bastardise" and impoverish the vernacular language of this province.

Bhárat Chandra was endowed with several attributes of the true poet. He had not only an originating power: His imagination was not merely a realising conception, but also a creative faculty which could grasp the past and the present as well as the future. His *Vidya* and *Sundar* are living portraits of lovers. The former is endowed with manly strength and manly beauty, and the latter is a lovely and loveable being. The poem *Vidya-sundar* is still the most popular in Bengal, and is acted as a drama in every part of the country. The variety and vicissitudes of passion, and the knowledge of human nature displayed in it, happily illustrate the genius of the dramatist.

The political condition of Bengal during the time of Mahárája Krishna Chandra Ráya was extremely critical and unsatisfactory. It was complicated by the animosities and dissensions of the subadars and their principal officers, arising from the tyranny

of the former, and culminating in civil wars. It was further complicated by incessant warfare waged by the Mahrattás. The evils attending this state of things were the destruction of crops and the consequent scarcity of grain, the enhancement of the wages of labour, the depression of foreign and inland trade, and the prevalence of universal oppression.

In A.D. 1739, Sarfiáz Khán was Subahdár of Bengal. His oppression had alienated from him his chief officers and the leading noblemen of the country. Among the former were the Topkháná Dárogá and Hájí Hamit, brothers of Alí Vardí Khán, Governor of Patna, and Alam Chánd. Among the latter was Fátli Chánd, who had received from Aurungzeb the title of Jagat Seth, and who was esteemed the greatest banker and the most opulent subject in India. In him patriotism or the sense of the country being misgoverned, was intensified by a private wrong perpetrated by Sarfiáz Khán. He had about this time married his grandson, Mahtáb Ráya, to a most handsome girl. The fame of her exquisite beauty having reached the ear of Sarfiáz Khán, he longed for the possession of her person. He sent for Jagat Seth and demanded a sight of her. The Seth remonstrated against his demand as a gross violation of his honour and caste; but Sarfiáz Khán insisted on committing this outrage. She was carried *vi et armis* to the palace of the Subahdár at night, and was sent back after a few hours. This indignity rankled in the heart of Jagat Seth; and his immense family influence was exercised with a view to the dethronement of Sarfiáz Khán. He was joined in this project by Hem Chánd and Hájí Hamit; the latter wanting not only to get rid of the tyrant but to place his brother, Alí Vardí Khán, on the *masnad*. The triumvirate arrived at the resolution "that none could be secure in their lives, honour, or property whilst Sarfiáz Khán remained invested with the Subahdársnip." They further resolved "that Alí Vardí Khán was the only one capable of rescuing the provinces from apparent and inevitable ruin; and that he should be immediately advised of their sentiments, and entreated to concur with their proposal by preparing for a speedy march into Bengal, to take upon him the government."

Hájí proceeded to meet his brother at Patna; and represented to him the misgovernment of Sarfiáz Khán, and the facility with which he might assume the whole Subahdárí. Alí Vardí departed from Patna at the latter end of the year 1741, at the head of about 30,000 horse and foot, leaving his brother Hájí as Deputy Governor of Bengal. But the expedition of Alí Vardí Khán had well-nigh failed, owing to non-payment of arrears of salary long due to his officers and men, if two opulent merchants of Patna, *viz*, Umá Chánd and Dip Chánd, had not come forward

to his assistance. Sarfráz Khán, who had been lulled to security by the misrepresentation of his affairs, was roused to action by the approach of the troops of Alí Vardí Khán. He collected his officers and forces, and ordered them to take the field in the plains of Gairiá, about three miles to the north of Murshidábád. Alí Vardí's army now numbering 30,000 men—20,000 foot, and 10,000 horse—advanced and rushed in upon the forces of the Subahdár. The bulk of these forces had been completely demoralised, and they stood idle spectators of the battle. The guns were found to be loaded with blank cartridge only. Finding that he was betrayed by his officers and men, Sarfráz Khán ordered his one faithful follower, Muslit Kasí Khán, to retire from the battle to Katak. He himself plunged into the thickest of the enemy and fought for some time with desperation. He was at last killed by a musket ball discharged from a distance, and with his death ended the contention for the Subahdárí. The now victorious Alí Vardí Khán marched to Murshidábád, where he was installed on the *masnad* and was saluted as the Subahdár of the three provinces by his officers, the Rájás, and the Mahárájas of Bengal. His administration was a series of battles between the Mahrattá and the Muhammadan armies, exhibiting a heart-rending detail of murders and oppressions, and ending at last in a lasting peace concluded in 1750 between the two belligerent parties. In 1756, Alí Vardí Khán died; and was succeeded on the *gadi* by his grandson and adopted son Mirzá Muhammad, who assumed the title of Siráj-ud-daulá. This Subahdár proved the greatest tyrant of his race, and the last representative of the Emperor in Bengal. The traditions current among the people regarding his unparalleled cruelties, point him out as a monster in human shape. His seraglio contained an immense number of women purchased and decoyed from their houses. He took an inhuman delight in capsizing boats and drowning the passengers. His unbridled lust and terrible oppressions arrayed against him the secret but inveterate hostility of the principal members of the Government, and of the leading Rájás and bankers. The Rájás of Nadiyá, Bardwán, Dinájpur, Bishnupur, Midnapur, and Bírghúm, came to Murshidábád, and represented their grievances to Mahárájá Mahendra, the Nizámat Diwán, who promised them redress, and they returned to their respective territories. He then represented to the Nawáb the disaffection of his principal subjects and the ruin of the country caused by his unrighteous conduct; and urged on him the necessity and importance of following the righteous and lawful course. But his representations were utterly disregarded. Finding the Nawáb was incorrigible, he determined on the dethronement of his Excellency. With this view he convened a secret Council at the house of Jagat Seth. Among those who attended were Rájá

Rāmnāiāyan, Rājā Rājballabh, Rājā Krishna Dās, Mir Jāfar Alī, and Jagat Seth himself. Mahendra opened the proceedings by stating that he as well as the gentlemen present had served the Subah faithfully and zealously, and been honoured and treated with marked distinction by the immediate predecessors of Shāh ud-daulā. But now they were no longer held in high estimation, and their interests as well as those of the people at large, were being ruthlessly sacrificed to the caprice and cruelty of the reigning Subahdār. He therefore requested the Council to favour him with their views as to what should be done. Rājā Rāmnāiāyan suggested that an agent should be deputed to Hastināpur (Delhi) to move the Emperor to recall Shāh-ud-daulā and to appoint a new Subahdār. Rājā Rājballabh was opposed to this suggestion; and expressed his opinion that as the Emperor was of Muhammadan faith, he was sure to appoint another Muhammadan as their Subahdār, but that the Hindūs could never practise their religious rites and ceremonies with impunity under a Muhammadan régime. This desultory conversation led to no definite result. But it was afterwards settled at the suggestion of Jagat Seth that Mahārāja Krishna Chandra Rāya of Nadiyā, being a man of uncommon sagacity and powerful influence, should be summoned to the Council, in order that he might give the benefit of his advice at this grave conjuncture. According to the author of *Krishna Chandra Charitra*, the Mahārāja Krishna Chandra at first sent his Dīwān, Bābu Kālī Prasād Singh, to know why he was wanted. On the return of his Dīwān he himself proceeded to Murshidābād, where he first saw Mahārāja Mahendra and Jagat Seth. He found the former very vacillating, and unwilling to embark in any enterprise against the Subahdār. Krishna Chandra tried to remove his doubts and overcome his fears, and assuming a firm tone expressed his belief that so long as the Muhammadan régime should last the Hindūs could never expect to enjoy uninterruptedly the blessings of peace and the free exercise of religion. He therefore strongly advised that an application should be made to the English, who were settled at Calcutta near Kālighāt, to expel the Muhammadans and assume the reins of government. On being questioned by Jagat Seth as to the character of the English nation, he replied that they were truth-loving and peace-loving, skilled in war, very powerful and wealthy, and devoted to the welfare of the subject.

Jagat Seth admitted he had heard the same high account of the English, but he could not see how the natives could communicate with them, as they spoke a different language. Krishna Chandra replied that that could be easily done through the agency of interpreters; and added that he was in the habit of visiting the shrine of Kālighāt and he had availed himself of several opportuni-

ties of seeing Mr. Drake, the Governor of the English settlement at Calcutta, and carried on conversation with him through interpreters. It was at last resolved, according to the authority above quoted, that Krishna Chandra should proceed to Calcutta and invite the English to assume the government of the country. He lost no time in seeing Mr. Drake and delivering the important message with which he had been entrusted. He represented the grievous misgovernment of the Muhammadans, and urged on the Governor to emancipate the country from their terrible oppression. The Governor cordially acknowledged the truth of everything he had heard, and promised his assistance. He said he would lose no time in communicating with the chief officers of the Hon'ble East India Company in England, and so soon as the result of the reference was known he would adopt the necessary measures for the expulsion of the Muhammadans. About this time Sináj-ud-daulá, as if to hasten his downfall, made a demand on the English for a larger revenue than that which they had hitherto paid. The Governor resisted the demand, but the Subahdár repeated and insisted on it. Another cause which expedited the extinction of the Muhammadan power in Bengal was Rájá Krishnaballabh being disgraced by the Nawáb, his leaving Murshidábád and taking shelter at the English settlement in Calcutta. The Governor assured him that he was perfectly safe at the settlement, and that he might remain there as long as he liked. The Nawáb having heard of the circumstances wrote to the Governor to send up to Murshidábád Krishnaballabh, the son of Rájá Rájballabh, as a prisoner in irons. The Governor refused to deliver him up. The Nawáb wrote again and again to the same effect, but his unreasonable demand was politely but firmly refused. The exacerbation of feeling thus produced on both sides brought on hostilities which eventuated in the memorable battle of Plassey. How that battle terminated, how the Muhammadan power was overthrown, and how the English power was established, have been described by the historians.

* It may be here observed that the English not only won their way to the sovereignty of this country, but were invited to assume it by the leading Hindú noblemen and gentlemen. The parallelism between the English Revolution and the establishment of English power in Bengal in 1757, does not of course hold good; but there is one feature common to both. The dethroned rulers had been guilty of gross violations of all constitutional principles, and their misgovernment had excited the deep resentment of their subjects. Any government, both in England and Bengal, was under the circumstances thought better than no government, or such misgovernment as those countries had suffered from. In both cases the new government proved as great a blessing as the old government had proved a curse.

The part taken by Krishna Chandra in the establishment of the English power reflects the greatest credit on his consummate statesmanship and political prescience. In recognition of the services rendered by him to the English Government, Lord Clive conferred on him the title of *Rājendra Bahādur*. He was also presented with a dozen guns used at Plassey. They may be still seen in the Rājbari.

The Mahārājā was a scholar and fond of the society of scholars. But there was no student-dreaminess in him. He was strong of will as well as of brain. His bright clear intellect grasped knowledge, fine arts, and politics. He was fond of music, and patronized musicians and *klāvaths* of the Upper Provinces. He delighted in *dhurpads* and *khéals*, and was a great connoisseur in matters regarding the *rāys* and *rāginis* regulating oriental music. He was a great encourager of architecture. He constructed the large building for pūjā in the Rājbari. It is of Gothic style of architecture, and is considered a splendid *Dālān*. He also built a marble staircase for going down the sacred well *Gyan Bapi* in Benares, for the benefit of the pilgrims. He was universally considered the head of Hindū society, and was the arbitrator on all questions of caste.

In 1758 the Nadiyā Rāj became a defaulter to the English Government; on which Mr. Luke Sraffton proposed to the Government to send a trusty person into Nadiyā to collect the revenues for the Mahārājā, and to deprive him of all power in his country, allowing him only Rs. 10,000 for his expenses. It appears from the proceedings of the Government, dated 20th August, 1759, that the revenue of the Mahārājā Krishna Chandra for the Parganā of Nadiyā was nine lākhs of rupees, less Rs. 64,048, being the revenue of Nadiyā lands included in East India Company's lands; so that the net amount was Rs. 8,35,952. This amount was payable by monthly kists or instalments. For its punctual payment the Mahārājā entered into the following agreement:—"I promise to pay the above sum of Rs. 8,35,952, agreeable to the kistbandī without delay or failure. I will pay the same into the Company's Factory. I have made this that it may remain in full force and virtue. Dated the 23rd of the moḍu Tulhaide, and the 4th August, of Bengal year, 1166."

During the early part of the English administration, Sántipur, as we have already mentioned, was one of the great cloth Aurangs of the Company. But in those days security of life and property had not been established. In November, 1764, an attack was made on it and the export warehousekeeper laid before the Board the following letter of complaint from the Company's gomāstās:—

"Sántipur, 6th November, 1764.

"Your favour of the 25th ultimo we have received yesterday.

"Rám Chandra Sháh, the son of Krishna Chandra Sháh, arrived in the Aung with two or three hundred horsemen, sepoys and peons; about 50 persons entered our factory, and insisted on our going with them to Rám Chandra Sháh; and finding that we refused to go, they forcibly took away Manohar Bhattáchárjya, our gomáshlá who provides cotton yarn for the Company, whereby the Company's business is stopped; therefore, as we cannot perceive their design in the present disorder, we despatch Haidráám Mukharji and Gopál Bhattáchárjya to inform you of the particulars, and hope you will take notice of the same."

This was the transition state of Nadiyá. The summary laws of the Ráj for the repression of crime being abolished, and the police of the Company's Government being ill-organised and unable to cope with it, the district became the head-quarters of robbers and dacoits who carried on their depredations with impunity. One of them, "Biswanáth Bábu," exercised his nefarious vocation in broad daylight, and used to send previous notices of his intention to those whom he intended to plunder, provided his demands were not complied with. Biswanáth Bábu was a *báydí* by caste, and an inhabitant of Asánagar, ten miles from Krishnanagar. His chief companions were Naldahá, Krishna Sardár, and Saunýásí. Naldahá, as his *sobriquet* implied, had the faculty of diving and remaining under water for a long time. These three men were the lieutenants of Biswanáth. His gang numbered more than 500 dacoits. He was the terror of the country and the *bête noire* of the police; and kept the whole district in a chronic state of alarm. On one occasion, when he wanted to celebrate a *pújá*, he found that his available funds would not suffice for its celebration; he therefore determined, from information received, on plundering the *gadli* at Kálúá, where the Nandis of Baidyapur had just remitted 10,000 rupees in cash. He took a boat at night and came down to Kálúá, accompanied by only four noted dacoits armed with swords and pistols. On his arrival he sent for the *dárogá* and made him sign a paper purporting to be an *ikár* in which the *dárogá* confesses to collusion with the dacoits in the robbery of the *gadli*. Biswanáth and his companions then landed, and openly helped themselves to the treasure. On another occasion Biswanáth received intimation of a large remittance having arrived from Calcutta at the factory of Mr. Samuel Fady, an indigo planter of Nadiyá. The remittance was sent to enable Mr. Fady to make advances to his ráyats. Biswanáth with his gang attacked Mr. Fady's bungalow at night, and looted the money. Mrs. Fady being frightened out of her life concealed herself in a tank in the compound, having put a black *hándi* over her head, with a view to dissimulate suspicion of her place of concealment.

Mr. Fady was pinioned by the dacoits and was carried by them to their rendezvous, where a discussion between Biswanáth and his chief companions took place as to the expediency of killing Mr. Fady. The general opinion was in favour of the murder; but Biswanáth was opposed to it, and opined that to shed the blood of an Englishman would create a great sensation and array against them the active hostility of all *Sáhib-logon*. While this discussion was going on, one of the ruffians rushed upon Mr. Fady with a drawn sword and was about to murder him, when Biswanáth caught hold of his arm and snatched the sword from his grasp. It was at last resolved that Mr. Fady should be let off, on his promising not to betray them. Mr. Fady gave the required promise, and was allowed to depart. Believing the promise extorted from him was not binding on his conscience, he went straight to the House of the Magistrate, Mr. Eliot, who had already acquired some reputation as an energetic police officer. He roused Mr. Eliot, who was still in bed; and stated to him all that had happened. He urged upon the Magistrate to leave no stone unturned for the capture and punishment of the dacoits, promising to co-operate with him, and making a solemn vow not to resume his business so long as the object mentioned above was not gained. As the police force then at the disposal of Mr. Eliot was too inefficient to cope with the formidable gang of Biswanáth, he applied to the Government for the aid of a company of sepoys from the Militia. The application was readily complied with, and furthermore Mr. C. Blacquiére, then one of the Magistrates of Calcutta, was associated with Mr. Eliot as a Joint Magistrate; this being the first instance when an Uncovenanted Officer was deputed to the Mufassal to take an active part in the executive department. Mr. Blacquiére took up with him a few European sailors and a body of *Upargostis*, who were able-bodied men, and being all natives of Sántipur, could watch and report to their chief the movements of Biswanáth's gang. From information received from one of the *Upargostis*, Mr. Blacquiére proceeded with his men to a spot where Biswanáth intended to commit a dacoity. He found that the leaders of the gang were flourishing their swords outside a house, while it was being plundered inside by their followers. Mr. Blacquiére ordered the sepoys to arrest the leaders alive, but they pleaded their inability to do so. They, however, said they would, if permitted, shoot them down. The European sailors were then called upon to capture them. This they did, having first disarmed the dacoits of their *talwars* by hitting their arms with long sticks. The sepoys then surrounded the house, and apprehended some of those minor dacoits who had plundered it, and had been unable to escape. This capture tranquillised the district for a time; as the dacoits dispersed.

But the *Upargostis* were indefatigable in tracing them out; and at last it was ascertained and reported that Biswanáth and his chief companions were engaged in dressing their food in a *jungle*. Mr. Eliot, Mr. Blacquiére, and Mr. Fady immediately marched with their forces to the spot, and surrounded the *jungle*. The gentlemen rushed in, and arrested Biswanáth and his companions. The dacoit taunted Mr. Fady for his breach of promise, and added he was now prepared for whatever might befall him. His manner was bold and almost dignified, and his aspect did not belie his words. Biswanáth and a dozen of his accomplices were tried, convicted, and capitally sentenced. They were hung on a scaffold on the river side. Their corpses were caged and hung on a *But-tree* (*Ficus Indica*) for public exhibition, and as a warning to evil-doers. This event happened about the year 1808.

The features of Biswanáth were irregular, but not coarse like those of other aboriginal Bágdis. His keen dark eyes and shaggy eyebrows gave an interesting expression to his face. He was ferocious; but his ferocity, as we have seen in the case of Mr. Fady, was tempered by caution if not by mercy. He had several good traits, and was something like the Robin Hood or the Rob Roy of Bengal. In return for the black mail he levied, he afforded protection to those who paid it. He also in several instances relieved men from their pecuniary difficulties. He fed the poor during his *pújás*; and freely gave what he had easily earned to Bráhmans when they applied to him for assistance on occasions of the marriage of their daughters.

Maharájá Krishná Chandra died at the good old age of 70, and left six sons and one daughter.

Siva Chandra, the eldest son of the deceased Maharájá, succeeded to the title and estate of his father, in accordance with the provisions of the will of the latter. Krishná Chandra was thus the first Hindú who adopted the custom of making written wills, which are unknown to the *sástras*.

Siva Chandra retained in his employ the old officers of the *ráj*, and availed himself of their experience. He managed the affairs of his estate with great tact and judgment. He was a more profound scholar in Sanskrit than even his distinguished and versatile father. A manuscript work of Siva Chandra has been lately discovered. He was a religious man, and spent a large portion of his time in making *pújás* and performing ceremonies. He celebrated the *Soma Yaga*. He died at the age of 47, leaving one son and one daughter.

Siva Chandra was succeeded by his son Iswara Chandra, who was generous to a fault. He was in fact very extravagant, and knew not how to economise, and far less to enhance, the resources

of his estate. Through his extravagance, he lost property worth three lakhs of rupees. He built a beautiful villa called *Sriban*, situated in a romantic spot at a distance of two miles from the Rájbarí. It was at one time the seat of luxury and resonant with music, but it is now in a state of dilapidation. Iswara Chandra died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, leaving one son and one daughter; the son, Girisa Chandra, a young man of sixteen years of age, succeeded to the title and property. During his minority the estate remained under the control of the Court of Wards. Like his father he was a very extravagant man, and as soon as the estate came into his possession he began to squander its proceeds most recklessly. The bulk of the property was in his time sold by the inexorable sunset-law, owing to the non-payment of the Government demand.

The *debottar* lands which had been expressly set aside for the worship of the several family idols, yielding an income of about a lakh of rupees a year, and some *zaminudáries* heavily encumbered, were all the properties now left to him. The Ráj, that at one time embraced a vast extent of country and comprised eighty-four Parganáas, that was the seat of great manufacturing industries and teemed with a variety of agricultural resources, was now reduced to the proportions of a small estate. The absence of a law of entail, which in Bardwán was in some measure supplied by the *pataní* system, was the chief cause of the annihilation of the Nadiyá Ráj.

Girisa Chandra, like several of his predecessors, was a great encourager of Sanskrit learning, and delighted to reward most munificently the eminent and learned men of his time. During his administration, the celebrated poet Rasaságar flourished, and was for a long time an ornament of his court. He had the faculty of improvising verses on the spur of the moment. Girisa Chandra had two wives; but left no issue at the time of his death, which took place in the sixtieth year of his age. Before his demise, he had adopted a son named Sirisa Chandra who succeeded him.

Sirisa Chandra was only 18 years of age, and had scarcely passed his minority when he took charge of the estate. The tact, sagacity, and judgment which he evinced in the management of the estate were highly creditable, and were beyond his years. Within a short time he managed to clear off the incumbrances, and increased the income to some extent. But it had been irretrievably ruined, and all his skill could not restore it to its ancient grandeur. He was an intelligent, handsome, and affable man. His *bouhommie* rendered him very popular with all who came in contact with him.

Sirisa Chandra, though representing the most orthodox family in Bengal, emancipated himself from the fetters of bigotry and superstition. He rose above the prejudice of an antiquated age,

and caught the spirit of innovation and progress characteristic of the present age. He introduced European customs, and observed no distinctions in eating and drinking. He was a very public-spirited person, and his efforts to promote the moral and mental enlightenment of his country were very laudable. There was not a single reform movement set on foot in Bengal in which he did not take an active part. When the first petition for legalising the re-marriage of Hindú widows was prepared, he headed the list of subscribers to that memorable document. He was also opposed to the system of Hindú polygamy, and heartily joined in the movement for abolishing it except in certain cases. He established an Anglo-Vernacular School in his own premises, which was a very flourishing institution in his time; the instructive staff consisted of a head master, three assistant masters, and two pundits. The expense of the school was entirely defrayed by him, no aid being asked for from Government, nor any subscriptions from private sources. The school was on one occasion visited by Sir Frederick Halliday, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He examined the boys, and expressed his great satisfaction at the progress made by them. He also praised the Mahárájá for his encouragement of English learning. Sirisa Chandra was not only charitable, but his charity was discriminating. He presented to the Government the large tract of land on which the magnificent building of the Krishnanagar College stands. He also subscribed a large sum for its erection. Though he was not a scholar still he was a great admirer of learning. He had his two sons educated at the Government College. He was tolerably conversant with Persian and Sanskrit. He was a great patron of Hindú music, and was himself a renowned singer; his name was known to all the celebrated singers of the day, and they came to him even from such distant places as Dehli and Lakhuau.

The Government recognised and confirmed his title of Mahárájá Bahádúr; and bestowed upon him the usual khilat and other honours appertaining to the same.

Sirisa Chandra died in the thirty-eighth year of his age, leaving one son and one daughter.

Satisa Chandra succeeded his father at the early age of twenty. He was an Englishman in his habits. He died at Masúri on the 9th October, 1870, in the thirty-third year of his age. He left no issue whatever. He had two wives; one of whom is still living. This lady receives a pension from the Court of Wards, under whose control the estate is now placed.

Though some of the successors of the Mahárájá Krishna Chandra evinced some talent and public spirit, yet their histories are not fertile of incidents which illustrate the period and go to make up

history. The ráj, though still carrying with it the title of *Maharájá Bahádúr*, has been virtually reduced to a *zamindári*. This fact illustrates an observation of Lord William Bentinck, made in 1837, before a Committee of the House of Commons :—" In many respects the Muhammadans surpassed our rule ; they settled in the countries which they conquered ; they intermixed and intermarried with the natives ; they admitted them to all privileges ; the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and conquered became identified. Our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this—cold, selfish, and unfeeling ; the iron hand of power on the one side, monopoly and exclusion on the other." The policy thus emphatically condemned has to some extent been modified ; still what is wanted is a field for the cultivation and evokition of the public virtues of the chiefs and princes of India.

The Nadiyá Ráj has exercised a most potent influence on the literature and politics of this country. It has contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the development of the Nyáya philosophy, and the substitution of the English for the Muhammadan power. Maharájá Kúshna Chandra Ráya was the Mecenas of his age, and gave every encouragement to learning. He acted according to the dictum of Manu : ' A gift to an ordinary Bráhman is doubly meritorious, but one to a learned Bráhman is ten thousand times more so.' Being considered a consummate politician, his advice was sought for by the leading men of Murshidábád as to the best way of displacing Siráj-ud-daulá. His advice, as we have seen, indicated high statesmanship ; and its adoption resulted in the extinction of an intolerable tyranny, and in the establishment of a beneficent government.

The decadence of learning in Nadiyá attracted the attention of the English Government as early as 1811. On the 6th March of that year, Lord Minto recorded a minute, advocating the establishment of Sanskrit colleges in Nadiyá and Tírhút. We reproduce from that minute the following pertinent remarks :—

" It is a common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every enquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, the remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse and even actual loss of many valuable books ; and it is to be apprehended that, unless Government interpose with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a

want of books or of persons capable of explaining them. The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the Native Government. Such encouragement must always operate as a strong incentive to study and literary exertions, but especially in India, where the learned professions have little, if any, other support. The justness of those observations might be illustrated by a detailed consideration of the former and present state of science and literature at the three principal seats of Hindú learning, *viz.*—Benares, Tirhút and Nadiyá. Such a review would bring before us the liberal patronage which was formerly bestowed, not only by princes and others in power and authority, but also by the zamíndárs, on persons who had distinguished themselves by the successful cultivation of letters at those places. It would equally bring to our view the present neglected state of learning at those once celebrated places; and we should have to remark with regret that the cultivation of letters was now confined to the few surviving persons who had been patronised by the native princes and others under the former Governments, or to such of the immediate descendants of those persons as had imbibed a love of science from their parents."

These suggestions of Lord Minto resulted in the establishment of a Sanskrit College in Calcutta. The recent mutilation of that institution has caused the deepest regret, and awakened anxious solicitude for the future of the science and learning of this province, in the mind of every patriotic and thoughtful man in Bengal. We trust that, with the spread of high English education, which is fast taking root and will soon shoot up into a goodly tree, such mutilations will become impossible. Researches into Sanskrit literature and philosophy cannot be now successfully carried on unless supplemented by a knowledge of English. Oriental lore can be best utilised when it is based on the Western spirit of enquiry. Lord Northbrook, in his most able and statesmanlike speech on the Government educational policy, delivered at the recent distribution of prizes at the Medical College, enunciated two principles which we trust will henceforth be loyally acted upon as the ruling principles of that policy:—"The maintenance of a high standard of education is the only means by which the ample stores of Western literature may be brought within the reach of the natives of India. Following still the principle laid down in the Despatch, I hold that proper encouragement should be given to the study of the ancient and historical languages of India." We hope that the light of learning, which, having dawned in the east, has travelled westward, may retrace its course until its rays may penetrate the toils of the Pandits, the *baitakkhánás* of the

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Bábus, and the *bhitas* of the ráyat. The Hindús, whose history, capacity, and career are full of interest, are now crying out to their conquerors, "Give us of your oil, for our lamps have gone out." Let us hope that the time will soon come when the sun of Western knowledge shall illuminate India from the Himálayas to the southern sea—reproducing and improving old modes of thought, reanimating and remodelling old systems of philosophy, vivifying the minds of men, and making the intellectual wilderness blossom as the rose.

ART. VI.—THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

IN some former numbers* of this magazine we reviewed in detail the Acts of the Governor-General in Council from its establishment in 1834 to the end of 1847; the Acts passed between the latter year and 1857 have no special features of their own; and the general spirit of legislation since the mutiny was noticed by us not long ago.† Although the conventional “we” is used, it is not of course pretended that the present writer was the author of the articles which appeared in 1848, or even that the whole of these articles have been supervised by the same editor. It is of course impossible that such should have been the case, and yet when we read again what was written so long ago, we are surprised to find that so much of it might have been written now. Our task then was mainly that of an examination of the Acts in detail, and we certainly did not expect to find that so much of it was simply a waste of time. But it was so, for out of 604 Acts passed before 1857, 301 have been wholly, and 24 partly, repealed; thus only 179 remain, and it is probable that but a few of these will survive the present efforts at consolidation. We shall therefore abstain from detailed criticism until the consolidators have completed their work, and there is a fair chance that the subject of our remarks will not have ceased to exist almost as soon as our remarks are published.

In summing up our review of legislation, down to the end of 1847, we said—“Having now noticed the principal classes of “Acts, and the omissions, we will conclude by observing that “on the whole the new Legislative Council has disappointed “the expectations raised both in and out of Parliament. Two “eras are clearly distinguishable—its early and latter days. “In the former it gave many indications of its Parliamentary “birth and origin: these are gone by; and in its latter days “all the indications are of its Leadenhall Street connection.” This is similar to the complaint we had previously made against the system of constantly passing Acts to allow the Governor-General and his Council to act independently, which was as follows:— “The Governor-General is usually the only English politician “or statesman in Council: the other Councillors generally (with “the exception of one of them) are senior civil servants, often “eminent and able, and always possessed of large and varied “Indian experience; but they are a class who, with all their high “merits, official and personal, and aptitude for mofussil details,

"have been all their lives part and parcel of the Company's oligarchical system: standing still all their lives, while the world has been going on; and the predominance which superior numbers gives them, especially in the absence of the Governor-General, is not favourable, as we deem, to the progress which India is now capable of making." This failing of narrow-minded conservatism was clearly traceable throughout the whole work of the Council; appointed for the distinct purpose of reform and progress its members were unable to resist the passing of measures urgently needed, but they could generally manage to insert a clause or two which deprived the measure of more than half its value. They were in the position of a Conservative ministry compelled to introduce with a nominal approval measures which they cordially detested, and which they would take every indirect means in their power to defeat. Certainly no one now brings this charge against the Legislative Council; on the contrary the universal complaint against it is that it forces progress at a pace India is utterly unable to sustain; that, instead of its members being old-world obstructives, they are men whose liberalism is that of the most advanced doctrinaires and visionaries, who take advantage of their position to force on the country theories which it either utterly fails to understand, or thoroughly detests. The Council may therefore retort with some plausibility, "You accuse us on one side with being behind, and on the other with being before the age; is it not therefore probable that we are really only moving with it?" This retort is plausible but not conclusive. How far the charge of undue haste is deserved we will consider, if space permits, hereafter; it is not inconsistent with the charge of obstructiveness. Conservatism like most other things has its good and its bad side; it may be a wholesome repugnance to alter the existing state of things unless it is clear that a better state will be substituted for it; and it may be an obstinate and selfish resolve to retain the monopolies and privileges of the class to which one may chance to belong, and a refusal to look at the injustice caused to other classes of the community. It was conservatism of the latter kind that was charged against the former Council—that the charge was true was proved by their legislation with reference to the press, European settlers, and similar subjects. Their object was not to resist the change of institutions of proved value for new ones of doubtful advantage, but to preserve, as long as possible, the last vestige of the monopoly once enjoyed by the "Company of merchants to the East Indies."

As conservatism may be a vice or a virtue, so may liberalism. It may be a refusal to admit the plea of "whatever is is best" as an excuse for obvious injustice, or for the delay of reforms the

necessity of which is clear, simply because the persons who will be benefited by them are not sufficiently numerous or sufficiently eager to carry them by force—and in this case it is a virtue. It is a vice when it becomes a desire to destroy simply to see if the destroyer cannot make some thing better; to remove apparent inequalities until the whole surface of society is dressed to please the eye of the reformer; and to obstinately insist on the people being happy not in their own way, but according to the last theory. When conservatism and liberalism are virtues, they so closely resemble one another, that the difference between them is not one of principle, but merely one of opinion as to the utility of any particular measure; when they are vices it is still quite possible that, though apparently so opposite, they may co-exist in the same person. Intense selfishness is quite compatible with a spurious philanthropy that loves to do what it calls good at some one else's expense—the foremost champions of "liberty" are often most intolerant of the slightest difference from their opinions; conversely it is quite possible in practice, however logically absurd, for the most strenuous defender of the Company's monopoly in past days, or believer of "government by the sword" and the class animosities known generally as "prestige" in the present day, to insist on passing "for the good of the commonwealth" measures which would appear revolutionary to the most advanced English radical.

These two faults, a desire to retain for one's own clique unjust privileges, and an eagerness to force on others a theoretical perfection which is utterly at variance with their actual circumstances, may exist in the same body at different periods or even simultaneously; but the existence of either of them is sufficient to prove that the body is not truly representative. If, however, we allege that the Legislative Council fails in this respect, we are at once met with the reply that it does not profess to be so in any sense of the word. If this reply is strictly true, it is clear that the discussion can proceed no further. If the characteristic quality we have pointed out is not a failing, it is a waste of time to attempt to prove that it exists. But we by no means admit the reply to be strictly true; no doubt it is so literally if by "representative" we mean simply elected by the popular vote; but in our opinion such a meaning is utterly wrong. A "representative" body is obviously one that really "represents" the various classes of the community; the mode of appointment of the members of this body is simply an accident. It is quite possible for an autocrat to select and form into one body all the leading men of the various interests in the country; if he does so honestly—if he wishes truly to learn the feelings of the people, he will have no difficulty in collecting together a council

which is truly representative. That the autocrat's council is generally not representative arises from two causes : the first is that autocrats as a rule are not fond of hearing the truth, and therefore they select "speakers of smooth things rather than speakers of truth;" the other reason is the want of political courage which is almost always found under a despotic government; although the nominee may be really a representative of his class, he is still afraid to speak his mind; he has a strong suspicion that the despot's professed anxiety to hear the truth is really only a trap to find out those who are opposed to the Government; he feels that at best his words will be useless, and that the least that will happen to him will be that he is quietly shelved. The chances are therefore very strong against a despot's council being a representative body.

On the other hand it is quite possible that an assembly founded on popular election may represent nothing except the wealth of the elected, and the corruption of the electors and their capacity to be bribed. It may also be that the people have really no opinions to be represented, but merely a number of selfish prejudices. Never having had the remotest connection with the higher questions of politics, they may be quite unable to form any opinion as to how these questions should be decided. It is true that this fact would not necessarily prevent an assembly from being representative; no doubt the parliaments of Elizabeth, who almost confessed that questions relating to the church and to foreign affairs were matters too high for them, were as truly representative as the parliaments of Victoria. It is not necessary to the representative character of an assembly that it should be capable of deciding all questions of State. On the other hand it is necessary that there should be some general broad sentiments of the community—which we call vaguely public opinion—for it to represent. If a people has no ideas beyond the barest struggle for existence; if each district, or even each village, has no conception of the common good of the nation as a whole, it is clear that delegates from those districts or villages could represent nothing but local prejudices and antagonism. All questions not immediately affecting the delegate's village would simply be ignored, whilst on those that did affect it, such as questions relating to the distribution of taxation, the delegate would utterly disregard the general justice of the distribution, direct all his efforts to shifting the share of his village on to another that is perhaps already taxed to the uttermost.

It may be said that even in the most backward nation an elected assembly must be more truly representative than a nominated one; however absurd these local prejudices may appear to us, yet as a matter of fact they do constitute the public opinion of the nation, and any assembly that ignores them cannot be truly representative. Our reply to this is that an assembly is only truly

representative when it represents the higher intelligence of the nation ; those who have no share in this intelligence have no claim to representation. This higher intelligence may not have existed, or may have existed and become vitiated ; in either of these cases there can be no representation. Prostitutes and burglars have no doubt strong views on government, but no one has yet proposed that they should be represented as a class ; the views or rather the prejudices of children are often as strong as those of their seniors, yet even under the most popular constitution the suffrage has never been given to them. We thus see that a nominated assembly *may* be, and that an elected one need not necessarily be, representative. No doubt the latter is much more likely to be so than the former ; it should be preferred where possible, and the mere fact that the popular opinions or prejudices may not be in accordance with the ideas of a true philosopher is no sufficient reason for ignoring them. On the other hand there are cases where a popular election is impossible, in a penal colony for instance, or in a nation where the people are intellectually children. Few will deny that at present the people of India are but little in advance of this state ; we do not wish to ignore the existence of a few highly and many fairly educated men, but it must, we think, be acknowledged that the political intelligence of the vast mass of the people is simply *nil*. If asked their opinions on general questions of policy they would at once say they had none, the matter was one that exclusively concerned the “sarkár.” If we were to seek for any remedy for local evils, such as famines, we should be confidently told that the only thing necessary was for the Government to prohibit the export of grain, and to compel the bunniahs to sell at a fixed rate.

To call upon such men to elect an assembly would be certainly absurd, and probably most mischievous ; yet it by no means follows that their opinions should be entirely ignored. They may have no capacity for originating reforms, but they may have a very strong one for resisting them ; they may be incapable of forming a sound opinion on the general effect of a new measure, but they can often offer most sensible and valuable criticism on the practical working of some of its details. There are also many questions, such as sanitary and social measures, on which their feelings are strong and cannot be disregarded, however unsound they may be. A wise statesman would not attempt to do so ; he would rather make it his great object to study them as thoroughly as possible. We have seen that he cannot ascertain them by ordering the election of a popular assembly ; the only course open to him is to call to his councils those men who can give him the information he requires, and who by their position and experience can be fairly said to be representa-

tives of the various interests of the country. Does the present Legislative Council constitute such a representative body? Was it ever intended to do so? We find that by the Indian Councils' Act of 1861 it is thus constituted:—

I.—The Viceroy and President, who may be said to be at once the Prime Minister and representative of his Sovereign. As Prime Minister he takes part in the debates, and votes as an ordinary member; as Viceroy he has the power to veto any Act of which he disapproves.

II.—The Executive Government, corresponding to the Cabinet of the day, and consisting of the ordinary members of Council. These are five in number; three of them must be men who have served the Government in India for at least ten years; as a rule two of these are taken from the best men in the Civil Service, and the third from the army; they represent the highest ability and most mature experience that the Indian Services could afford. The fourth member must be a barrister of not less than five years' standing; and it was intended that he should bring to our assistance the more varied experience and more scientific mode of thought of a successful legal career in England. The appointment of the fifth member was restricted by no rules; he might be, as was the case with Messrs. Wilson, Laing, and Massey, a financier sent out from the House of Commons, or as at present simply a third ordinary member selected from the Civil Service. To the above may be added, as an extraordinary member, the Commander-in-Chief.

These are the officials or ministers, who are responsible for the actual government of the country; and previously to the first establishment of the Legislative Council, they carried it on without any other assistance. But by the Act of 1861 it is enacted that, although the ordinary members are to have a seat in the Legislative Council, they are not to sit there alone. It is incumbent on the Governor-General to nominate at least an equal number (not less than six nor more than twelve) of additional members, of whom at least half must be persons unconnected with the Government. Whenever the Council meets for legislation, the additional have precisely the same powers and privileges as the ordinary members.

To men accustomed to fully developed popular institutions, the above Council may seem a mere mockery of representation; that the framing of a Council of not more than 19 members at the outside, in which the non-official members must always be in the minority, to represent 200 millions of men, should be called a "liberal" measure, must appear to them simply ridiculous. It does not appear so to us; we think that the popular element in the Council might have been safely enlarged, but we do not sneer at the measure because it does not go quite so far as we could wish. The words of Lord Macaulay, in defending the old Whigs from the charge of

illiberality, that "we should look in what direction a man is going and not merely where he is at the moment," should be well remembered in judging the value of a new Act. On the path of popular progress may well be inscribed "*vestigia nulla retrorsum*;" and if this path leads though an almost unexplored country, if we know not where the journey will end, if the utmost we can say is that we are directing our course by what we believe to be the safest guides, we cannot wonder if those in charge of the expedition order the march to be slow and cautious. We cannot therefore blame English statesmen, destitute of all personal knowledge of India, if their first step towards establishing popular institutions should be a very short one—so short, indeed, that it may appear to many of the bystanders to be rather a practice of the motions of the "balance step without gaining ground" than an attempt at actual progress.

We believe ourselves, as we have already stated, that the measure is a *bonâ fide* attempt to advance. We admit at once that everything depends on the way in which it is worked, and that the Viceroy may, if he chooses, so work it as to turn the whole thing into ridicule. To take an extreme case: there is apparently nothing to prevent him from appointing as additional members, six of the stupidest subalterns in the army and six of the most conceited and shallow Bâbûs turned out by the Calcutta University. To take a less extreme case; he may appoint fit men, and, when he has done so, refuse to listen to them or contemptuously snub them whenever they open their lips.

On the other hand, if the Viceroy is really in earnest in his liberalism, the Act may be so worked as to obtain a Council that may fairly be called representative, and which may be something more than simply the executive Government under another name. The maximum number of additional members is absurdly small compared with the total population of India; but before making this comparison several deductions must be made from this total. Madras, Bombay, and Bengal Proper have all their local Legislatures; and it is to these, and not to the Imperial Council that their representatives should be sent. The constitution of the Native States at once excludes their population from the possibility of being represented. It is therefore only for the North-West Provinces and Non-regulation Provinces that the Legislative Council is required to be a representative body; no doubt it exercises a general control over the whole of India, but it does so on matters which belong more properly to the Executive Government than to the Legislative, and on these the Council is used rather as a place for making known and explaining the Government policy than as a deliberative assembly. We have thus twelve possible members for the North-West Provinces and Non-regulation Provinces—a miserable few

no doubt, but still better than nothing. We class official additional members as representatives, because such men, if selected for mature experience, broad and enlightened views, and power of sympathising with the people, are the most true representatives that could be secured by any system of appointment. The presence of six men like these, and the same number of equally qualified non-officials, would afford the Government ample means, if they chose to avail themselves of them, of becoming fairly acquainted with the general feeling of the country on all important questions. A Government that wished to obtain and make use of such information would be most careful in its treatment of these members; it would make them feel that they were called in because their assistance was really valued, and not that they might act as dummies in a farce; they would encourage them to speak their minds freely, and would shew them that they respected opinions honestly given, even if they thought some of the assertions on which they were based not completely supported by the evidence. They would remember that it is opinions and not facts that they are striving to collect; the so-called "facts" can generally be ascertained from the pigeon-holes of the Government offices, the opinions only from the people themselves or their representatives. If these opinions really exist, it is of little practical importance to enquire whether they have been formed by a correct investigation of facts and a perfectly logical train of reasoning. If the opinions are erroneous, we may hope that they may be removed in course of time, but as long as they exist they must be equally respected whether erroneous or true.

If the Act is capable of being worked liberally, and if it was intended to be so worked, it only remains for us to inquire how for this intention has been carried out. We believe that at the commencement the Indian was as much in earnest as the home Government. The working of the Act may be said to depend entirely on the personal character of the Viceroy and the law member of Council. Passing over the short reign of Lord Elgin, the practical working may be said to have commenced under Sir John Lawrence, with Mr. Maino for his attorney-general; and more favourable auspices could scarcely have been wished for. Sir John Lawrence was not a deep speculative philosopher; it may be doubted if he cared much for any theoretical principle; he would have been the last man who, from a love of popular institutions in the abstract, would desire to substitute them for a despotic system that was working well. But if not an enthusiastic admirer of abstract principles, he was a man of enormous practical experience; in the long course of his Indian service he had learnt well that on many subjects there does exist a most strong and decided native public opinion, and that this opinion must be respected, not on

the principles of liberty, but because it cannot safely be disregarded. Another most important point was the fact that Sir John had himself risen from the ranks of the Civil Service, he therefore saw around him at the Council board, not merely a legal quorum of honourable members, but a circle of old friends with the value of whose experience and opinions he was well acquainted. Though officially he was "His Excellency" to them, in their hearts he was plain John Lawrence; and they would speak their minds to him as freely as to any other member of their own service.

For such a Viceroy, Mr. Maine was perhaps as suitable a law officer as could possibly have been found; for his character supplied the very qualities in which Sir John Lawrence was deficient. With the latter, culture and book learning were certainly not strong points; in these Mr. Maine excelled. If Sir John's personal experience and sound common sense led him to form decided opinions, Mr. Maine could come to his support with a train of the clearest reasoning. It was Sir John's work to supply the facts, and Mr. Maine's to supply him with principles. These principles were generally sound; at any rate his deep culture had taught him the importance of thorough investigation, and had imbued him with a thorough respect for the opinions of others; if against those opinions he now and again launched a quiet sarcasm, he never overstepped the limits of polished satire.

At the commencement, and to almost the close of the reign of Sir John Lawrence there is little to complain of in the treatment or action of the Council. Its members expressed their opinions freely and were listened to with respect. The action of the Council was in the direction of steady progress. In the Panjáb and other Non-regulation Provinces, a clear and simple legal system was established in place of the chaos of conflicting circulars that had formerly contained the law. Municipalities were constituted on a footing which, though it left much to be desired in the way of a real popular control, contained the germs of much good. In fact all may be said to have gone well until we came on that inexhaustible source of dispute, the land. Oudh was the first point where the storm arose; but there, with Mr. Davies, the former Secretary, and present Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb, for his Chief Commissioner, Sir John had little difficulty in obtaining his own way. But over the Panjáb Tenancy Act the contest was far more violent; Sir John Lawrence was bent on passing it before the Council left Calcutta early in 1868; but the Commander-in-Chief, Sir W. Mansfield, succeeded in carrying his motion, postponing the discussion until further information had been received from the Panjáb. The effect of this on the Governor-General was most unfortunate. The Council had shewn that, instead of being merely a consultative body, it had a decided

will of its own, and would enforce it even against the executive Government. Instead of at once acknowledging that it had a perfect right to do so, Sir John appears to have looked on the vote, if not as downright mutiny at any rate as a challenge to a contest in which it was a point of honour to conquer. Orders were at once issued forbidding any official to correspond semi-officially with members of the Council; and when the bill again came before it at Simla, it was clearly the fixed resolve of the Viceroy to insist on its passing without further delay. He succeeded as a matter of course; for at Simla the Council is so constituted that the Government must be in a majority. We have no wish now to discuss the merits of this much debated Act; we are merely noticing with regret the effect of the contest in disturbing the former friendly relations between the Government and the Council, and in causing the former to look upon all opposition as "factions" and a "thing to be put down."

But if the relations between the Government and the Council towards the close of the reign of Sir John Lawrence were not so cordial as at its commencement, they have become much worse since. The change from Sir John and Mr. Maine to Lord Mayo and Mr. Stephen was in this respect a most decided change for the worse. In intellectual culture, and appreciation of general principles of government, Lord Mayo was scarcely, if at all, the superior of his predecessor. He was of course entirely without Indian experience; and his European experience, as a member of a ministry always in the minority in the House of Commons, and as Chief Secretary for a country in a chronic state of what he considered senseless disaffection, was not calculated to imbue him with any deep love for popular institutions.

To Mr. Maine, the retiring man of letters, the thoughtful Professor of Jurisprudence, succeeded Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, the burly and successful advocate of the Common Law Courts. We do not wish for one moment to disparage the great ability of the latter; nor do we apply the epithet "burly" in any offensive sense. If it is applicable to his powerful physical frame, it still more correctly describes his powerful intellect. He was pre-eminently a man who had gained his position by success in the hard fights of practical every-day life, and not by profound thought in the retirement of his study. His business in life had been to gain verdicts, and not to write treatises on the organization of society. The institutions, customs, and modes of thought of the people of India, which Mr. Maine would study with the keen interest of the scholar, were to his successor little better than masses of rubbish to be tolerated only because the dust raised in attempting to remove them would probably choke the workmen. Officials professing to represent these feelings appeared to Mr.

Stephen not the representatives of a real public opinion, but narrow-minded men clinging to principles long since shown to be erroneous. As his utilitarianism left him little sympathy for old prejudices, so his "practical" turn of mind prevented him from tolerating any approach to a sham. To him the House of Commons would appear, deserving of respect not on account of the principles and traditions it represents, but for the power it actually enjoys; conversely, the Legislative Council, destitute of all real power in any serious contest with the executive Government, had no claim on his admiration as a possible basis of popular institutions.

From neither Lord Mayo nor Mr. Stephen could any great sympathy with the Council, or desire to enlarge its powers, be expected; and most assuredly none was shown. Again and again was the assertion made that the Council was not a representative body. Was the term "session" ever used by any one in the course of debate?—it was instantly taken up, and we were told that there was no such thing as a "session" of the Council, which was merely a number of gentlemen called together by the Governor-General when and where he thought fit. Did any member attempt to point out the effect on the country of the Government policy?—he was at once told with a sneer not to suppose he was addressing the House of Commons.

That this charge against the Government, of deliberately attempting to stifle all free discussion is true, is abundantly proved by its conduct in the Income-tax debate. Mr. Inglis, a man perhaps of more practical experience of district work than any other member of the Council, solemnly warned the Government that its policy was producing and must produce the greatest discontent; the idea of the Government that a district officer assessed the tax from his own personal knowledge was an absurdity, it was absolutely impossible for him to do more than exercise the most general control over his subordinates; even these subordinates had no personal knowledge of the incomes they returned; they could only make a rough guess; where they were thoroughly honest they must occasionally be wrong, and so came injustice; where they were corrupt, the oppression must be frightful. There is not a word in the above that every man in the country does not know to be absolutely true; what then is the action taken by Government? They might have replied: "Your remarks are unfortunately too true, but we are driven to the tax from absolute necessity; any suggestions of improvements will be listened to most readily, but we cannot give it up." What they actually did was this. They called for a return of the cases of oppression that had actually occurred; if an officer sent in a blank return, but maintained his opinion as to the existence of

the oppression, he was told he was a fool, for the evidence showed his opinion to be false. If on the other hand he did return the few isolated cases that had come to his personal knowledge, he was told that he was something worse than a fool for not having prevented them. To address warnings, or attempt to represent public opinion to a Government like this, becomes worse than useless ; any one holding strong opinions should expound them to the walls of his own study ; he would be listened to no more than in Council, but he would have this advantage, that he would not be insulted.

Under these circumstances, the Legislative Council became not the House of Commons but the Hall of St. Stephen. It was an office for registering the decrees of the executive Government, and not a deliberative assembly ; but at the same time it afforded the Government, under the form of a debate, an excellent opportunity of issuing to the public manifestoes of its policy, and on these occasions the spokesman was usually Mr. Stephen. He was always able, and always clear ; but his whole train of thought showed such ignorance of, and want of sympathy with, the real state of the country, that he probably did more harm than good. Certainly he defended the Government from the charge of actual malice, which no one had brought, but he proved conclusively that its feelings were diametrically opposed to those of the people.

Let us take for instance his speech on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, and the agitation for its repeal. We have no copy of it by us to quote verbatim, but we remember it well, and we believe that the following is a correct summary of it. After arguing that the imposition of local cesses was no breach of the Settlement, he proceeded to maintain that no arrangement could plead permanency if it had become manifestly unjust ; one generation could not bind all future generations, and therefore Lord Cornwallis and the men of his time could not control the taxation of the country for ever ; it would be most unwise for the Government to interfere with that arrangement unnecessarily, and they had no intention of doing so at present, but there was nothing whatever to prevent their doing so hereafter if necessary. Now this argument of the inability of one generation to bind future ones, is merely a repetition of what we heard in England at the time of the abolition of the Irish Church ; and from an English point of view it is perfectly correct. Although some of the more foolish of the Tory party cheered frantically when, at their request, the Coronation Oath was read, by which the Sovereign was bound to maintain the Irish Church "for ever," their conduct was treated with contempt by the sensible men of their own party. The idea that one generation can bind all future ones, is as absurd as the idea that a man is bound in honour to hold, throughout his life, the crude notions he may have

put forward as a boy. The reason of the absurdity is that in England, and similar countries, the Government and the people are one. An Act of the Legislature is simply a document expressing the views of the nation for the time being; the same body, the nation, may afterwards alter those views without the consent of any one else, for there is no one else to consult. Individuals personally affected by the change must receive pecuniary compensation; but provided this is done, the nation may change its opinion as often as it likes. The words "for ever" under these circumstances can mean nothing more than that no particular limit is fixed for the operation of the Act; an Act containing them may be altered as easily as an Act from which they are omitted; for, as pointed out, all Acts of such a body are expressions of opinion, and not formal contracts between two separate persons. But in India the case is very different; as a matter of fact, here the people and the Government are not one; and in no instance was their duality shown more thoroughly than in the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. In no sense was that an act of the nation; it was a formal legal contract, between a body entitled to receive, and a body bound to pay, a certain portion of the produce of the soil, by which the payment of grain was commuted into a perpetual cash payment. The Government of one generation has no more right to repudiate the contracts of its predecessors, than a man has to repudiate the contracts of his earlier days. As long as the contract was in its favour the Government enforced it most rigorously, selling up estates on the slightest default; that now, when the contract has become favourable to the payers, it should turn round and repudiate it, is so monstrous that the mention of the very possibility of its doing so under any circumstances is a libel. No doubt when the Bengal Government is really the Bengal nation, it may discuss and legislate for the Permanent Settlement as it pleases; until it is so, any allusion to the subject is mischievous. But Mr. Stephen failed to see this; he was under the delusion that a very able speech which, if delivered in the House of Commons, would have been favourably criticised in a leading article in the "Times," would be equally appreciated by the people of Bengal. No mistake could well be greater; the very small fraction of the Indian public that even knows that the speech has been delivered is entirely incapable of following its subtleties, and of distinguishing between an enunciation of what, under certain circumstances, would be an abstract truth, and a declaration of a policy which the Government has actually determined to adopt; and the only effect of its perusal is the creation of a vague uneasy feeling that the Government no longer intends to respect what the natives have regarded as its most solemn pledges.

Almost the same remarks apply to the speeches delivered from

time to time on the subject of local rates. The imposition of these is said to be regarded as a "breach of faith." Mr. Stephen replies that it cannot be justly considered so, because the Settlement, whether permanent or for a fixed period, is really nothing more than the fixing of a cash demand for that portion of the produce of the soil which the Government would be entitled to take in kind if there were no Settlement. Agriculturists are, therefore, as liable as other classes of the community to the general taxes; considering their actual condition it may be expedient to exempt them, but they cannot claim to be exempt by virtue of any existing contract; besides, local is not imperial taxation, and no possible objection can be raised to contributing funds that are to be spent only on the people themselves. This reasoning would be perfectly convincing if each zemindar possessed the intellect and education of Mr. Stephen, or even if the leaders of native public opinion thought in the same way as the editors of the London daily journals. Unfortunately they do not; they reason thus: "Whatever may be 'your' theory of land revenue, as a matter of fact we paid 'nothing' to Government except what came under that head; when 'that' was settled, we considered that everything was settled. 'And in the North-West Provinces and Panjáb, at any rate, your' assertion that only the Government share of the produce was 'engaged for' is incorrect; under the name of cesses, money was 'levied for roads, schools, &c—the very objects for which you 'impose your Local Rates.' The distinction between imperial and provincial taxation is to them simply unintelligible; in their eyes there are two distinct parties, the "sarkár" who collects, the people who pay money; if you tell them that the rates are really imposed and expended by themselves, they simply reply—"If 'the matter really rested with us, they would not be imposed at 'all."

We do not say that these views are just; we merely say that they exist, and that those gentlemen who represent them should be listened to with respect, and not sneered at as if they were defending exploded fallacies. We are legislating for India as it is, and not for what it possibly may be some two or three hundred years hence; if its people do consider a certain measure a "breach of faith," it is useless to say that they would not do so if they were all like Mr. Fitzjames Stephen. Yet this is really the position taken by Government in the Legislative Council. If any member ventures to assert that the feeling of the country is so and so, he is at once told (1) that his assertion is false, or (2) that if true, it only shows how ignorant the people are, how unfit to have a voice in the Government. What we believe to have been the intention of the creators of the Council, that legislation should be based on existing facts, and as far as possible in harmony with the feelings

of the country, is thus totally disregarded. Members representing those feelings are contemptuously silenced, and the Council Chamber becomes merely a platform from which a small band of "doctrinaires" deliver elaborate orations enunciating abstract principles, the meaning of which not more than a hundred of the most highly educated men in the country are capable of understanding.

If the Legislative Council looks with contempt on the opinions of the country, it is only natural that the country in its turn should complain of the action of the Council. Measure after measure passes into law; and the country instead of being thankful, only groans for rest. The Government, hurt at its ingratitude, asks angrily, "Wherein, have I wearied thee?" Its members publish minutes and make speeches, showing the comparative number of Acts passed in England and India; and as they called for statistics showing the cases of oppression that had actually occurred under the Income-tax, so they now call on the people to name a single measure passed unnecessarily.

The "*Indian Statesman*" of March 30th contained an excellent article on this very subject. Referring to the comparison between England and India, it pointed out most clearly that such comparison was simply misleading, for the following reasons:—

1.—In England the law is a mystery in the hands of the lawyers, it matters nothing to the people whether it is contained in one or one hundred Acts. In India almost every Act affects the people directly.

2.—The different conditions of English life make a number of Acts for what may be called private purposes necessary which are unnecessary here.

3.—In England the people themselves have full control over the principles of legislation.

4.—In England no measure is passed until it has been most thoroughly discussed and approved.

Mr. Maine, in his reply to this charge of over-legislation, laid great stress on the fact that there was scarcely a measure passed that had not long been demanded by the Local Governments; and he seemed to really think that this was a proof that the measure was demanded by the people. He further demonstrated the injustice of the charge of haste, by stating that there were numerous measures which the Local Governments were loudly calling for, which the Council was delaying. It did not appear to strike him that it was possible, though not probable, that a Lieutenant-Governor's ideas might be as little in harmony with those of the people as the ideas of a member of Council; that a man may ask for bread and not be satisfied if he receives a stone. A province may urgently require a dozen practical Acts, and the Legislative Council may insist on

presenting it with half the number of theoretical measures to which it is either opposed or thoroughly indifferent. The mere fact that a Local Government has demanded the measures, and that the Council has only passed five Acts, can be no proof whatever that its action is conservative.

In the article from which we have already quoted, the challenge to point out a single mischievous Act is met by naming the Coinage Act; and the frightful mischief caused by the order to break all coins that have lost two per cent. of their weight even by fair wear and tear, is clearly shown. Besides the Coinage Act, there are several others passed even within the last two years the necessity for which is not apparent. Who, we would ask, in 1870, demanded the Weights and Measures Act, so properly disallowed by the Secretary of State? What is the object of the Prisons Act? It seems to us to be both useless and mischievous. Our idea is that, in the eyes of the law, a criminal prisoner has no civil rights whatever; he has become a slave, whom the jailer is bound to treat with humanity, but has no legal redress against the Government for any treatment he may receive beyond what the Government or its officers may choose to grant. Inside the jail, discipline was maintained by executive orders; a prisoner was flogged or otherwise punished because the executive officer thought he deserved it. Now all this is changed; the prisoner is no longer a slave, he is merely a citizen whose conduct has rendered him amenable to stricter rules than his fellows; the officer in charge of the jail is merely an official empowered to visit certain acts described in Act XXVI. of 1870, with the punishment prescribed by that Act; and were he even to box the ears of a prisoner otherwise than in accordance with the Act he might be prosecuted for an assault. In 1871 we have the Weights and Measures Act again passed (we trust to give the Secretary of State an opportunity of again exercising his power of veto); and two other measures, *viz.*, the Panjáb Canal and Land Revenue Acts, involving important principles. Both these Acts were much criticised by the press; the changes caused by them, such as the power given by the Canal Act to levy a water-rate whether water was taken or not, and the declaration that all mines belong to Government made by the Revenue Act in direct opposition to existing orders of the Secretary of State, are simply revolutionary. Admitting for the sake of argument that they are beneficial, a whole year's discussion of them would not be too much; yet we find them passed into law almost before the Council can have read a single criticism on them; and the confiscatory clause about the mines was never even published before it became law. This is all on a par with the general policy of the Council;—"the people! who are the people! a mass of animals "little above cattle, is it for such as them to talk about policy, and "breaches of faith? Nay rather, their work is to obey in silence,

"and to present themselves as a *corpus vile* on which those enlightened minds, who have, by natural selection, succeeded to the power formerly exercised by kings by divine right, can experimentally mentalize as to the truth of conflicting theories."

The remainder of the Acts of 1871 are mainly only a part of the general work of consolidation ; and it may be said with a certain degree of truth that it is this very work which has raised the charge of over-legislation ; and that this charge proceeds, not from the public, but from old-fashioned officials who dislike to change their old rules even for the better. If this is partly true, we should still remember that even officials are a part, and in India they are a most important part, of the public ; and that they ought not to be vexed unnecessarily. As it is they are only too apt to look upon all "Acts" as a nuisance ; and their love for the law will not be increased by finding that as soon as they have mastered one Act it has been repealed, and a new one passed in its place. We are fully aware of the immense advantage of having the law contained within reasonable limits, and expressed in clear language ; we also believe that much may still be done in this direction. But we would warn the Council against over zeal and over haste. It is over zeal to allow every ingenious assistant who imagines (perhaps truly) that he has detected an imperfection in the old law, to at once suggest that it should be repealed and republished under a different title with a few verbal alterations. It is over haste to imagine that there is the slightest necessity that the work should be completed within a year or two ; what is really wanted is that it should stand when finished. Nothing whatever is gained by "polishing off" a really intricate subject. No doubt it is very simple, when existing rules are numerous, and if not actually confused certainly not clear, to simply repeal them all, and leave it to the Local Government to republish them, or any others in their places. This is not legislation, but an utter abnegation by the Council of all legislative functions. Nor is it consolidation ; for after a few years these orders in the *Gazette* will become quite as confused as the old law. It is of course possible to enact that these rules shall be republished annually ; but who is to do this ? To take the Panjáb, there are at least half a dozen Acts by which this obligation is laid on the Government. It cannot do so with its present staff ; so its plan is to attach some Assistant Commissioner to the Secretariat on "special duty," until the work has been polished off. We believe the gentleman now employed thus is Mr. D. G. Barkley, who has shown by his examinations at the Bar in England, and by his career out here, that the choice is as good a one as could have been made. It is not against the man, but the principle, that we protest. The Legislative Council passes with a great flourish of trumpets a

law on land revenue, the most important subject in India ; and declares, amidst much mutual laudation, that the measure will be a "lasting monument of Mr. Stephen's fame;" we find that we have got nothing but a few bombastic assertions by *doctrinaires* (which they call "laying down broad principles"), and that the whole practical legislation is shifted on to a supernumerary temporarily attached to the Panjáb Secretariat. This is on a par with a characteristic Panjáb story : it is said that one of its Deputy Commissioners asked the Czar of all the Russias to stand godfather to his son. He consented, but deputed as proxy his ambassador in London, who deputed the Foreign Secretary of State, who deputed the Viceroy, who deputed the Lieutenant-Governor, who deputed the Commissioner, who deputed the Deputy Commissioner, who deputed the Assistant Commissioner, who, having no one else to depute, attended in person. Whilst, as we have said, we gladly admit that much of the work of the Council has been useful, we must convict it on the charge of over-legislation. We do not refer here to its deliberate opposition to the feeling of the people ; that point we examined before. When we say that it over-legislates, we base our opinion on the following grounds :—

1.—It persists in legislating on a number of subjects, such as prisons and takávi advances, which belong properly to the Executive Government.

2.—It is constantly patching and altering existing Acts ; the two codes of Criminal and Civil Procedure are sufficient proof of this.

3.—It "rushes" bills through Council at a pace which makes the work utterly unsound. Instead of a real work of consolidation, we have one or two flashy sections, and the whole work is handed over to the Local Government.

As in the case of the Income-tax, so it is with the present charge against the Council ; the complaint is not so much against actual facts that have occurred as against the general feeling excited. There is no confidence in the policy of Government, and no stability in its measures. An Act declared to-day to be a monument of genius, is to-morrow found to be a crude and imperfect measure ; the "word of the Government," hitherto looked on as the most imperishable of securities, is formally declared to be merely an expression of the ideas of one Governor-General, which his successor is legally at perfect liberty to repudiate. The intention is announced of legislating for India on those principles which have been proved good in all countries ; these principles are not defined, but we know that by them is meant, not the principles which seem good to the people, but those which appear good to the small knot of men who surround the Viceroy. The idea of the Council being in any way a representative body, or of the Government consulting the feelings of the

people further than they are compelled by fear of insurrection, is openly scoffed at; and were it not for this fear we should not have the slightest guarantee that a sentiment uttered by Mr. Odger in Hyde Park in one month would not form the basis of a bill to be introduced by Sir John Strachey the next month, as an illustration of those principles which have been found good in other countries.

At the commencement of our article we pointed out that it was quite possible for a body of men to be greatly in advance of the country on some points, and unduly obstructive on others. We have found the Legislative Council guilty of the first charge; where theories are involved, it treats the opinions of the people as a pedantic schoolmaster would treat the erroneous notions of his pupils; where it passes from theory to practice, we find it full of narrow-minded prejudices. If there is one principle that "has proved itself good elsewhere," it is the one of giving the people a real control over the Government, as far as it personally affects them. The truth of this principle is fully recognised by the members of Council, at least in the abstract; they even go so far as to introduce measures, the object of which would seem to be to put this principle into practice. But when we come to examine these measures in detail, we find that, whilst making great professions, they really retain all power in official hands. Take for instance the Municipalities' Act. Any one would have thought that, if there is a case in which the voice of the people might be heard, it is the question of what money the inhabitants of a town should raise for their own convenience or enjoyment, and how they should expend it; the Act accordingly provides for the constitution of the Committee by nomination or election. It would be supposed that election would be the ordinary mode of appointment, and that nomination would only be resorted to where election had failed or most undoubtedly would fail; yet we find that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb declares in an official circular that "ordinarily nomination is preferable to election;" and that even in the capital of the province election has never been tried. Notwithstanding the recent excellent order removing from Municipal Committees a host of miscellaneous officials, the official element is still very strong; and the Government does not hesitate to declare that it is the Deputy Commissioner, and not the Committee, that it holds responsible for the management of the town. If we read the proceedings of these Committees, as published in the papers, we find that the Government interference is incessant, and almost every resolution contains some reference to a letter from Government; if in any case the Committee show a little firmness, their resolution is not treated as an expression of the opinion of a popular body, it is looked on simply as a piece of insubordination on the part of the official President, who avails himself of the fiction of a general reso-

lution to be impertinent to his superiors. If on the other hand any dispute arises between the President and the rest of the Committee ; if the former shows his contempt for the latter so clearly that they resent it, and does not even keep up the appearance of consulting them, what happens ? Is he reminded that he is merely Chairman of a popular body, and has no power or will apart from them ? On the contrary, he is invariably supported, even where his conduct has been most wrong ; whatever may be said to him privately, he cannot be openly censured ; all other officials are informed that to vote against their Deputy Commissioner is a grievous act of insubordination ; and the non-official members are reminded that really they are not popular representatives, but merely nominees of the district officer with no actual voice in the management of affairs.

As it was with the Municipalities, so it is with the Local Rate Committees. We have the same high-flown talk about spending the money paid by the people on the people and through the people ; and we find that this truly liberal measure will give the people a command over actually one-third of the votes of the Committee ; that over the question of what money is to be paid by the people they have no control whatever, and that their power of directing how it is to be expended is fettered by every restriction and requisition for Government sanction that can be invented. This is the way with all other similar measures. Our rulers do not hesitate to enunciate "principles" which would be appropriate to the Government of the Commune ; but when called on to put into practice the very A, B, C, of Liberalism, they shrink back and refuse to give up a particle of official power. "No doubt," they say, "our theories are true in the abstract, and may be employed against others, but when we come to employ them against ourselves we find them unsuited to the present state of the country. Popular institutions are beautiful. We yearn to establish them ; but, unfortunately, the people are not yet sufficiently educated to appreciate them."

It may be said that this is not the fault of the Council ; their intentions were liberal and honest, it is the Local Government that has misinterpreted them. We decline to allow this shifting of responsibility ; the Council know quite well, or ought to know, what is the official mind, and how it will interpret acts tending to diminish power. It knows well that, if it is left to officials to adopt a system of nomination or election, the "system of nomination will ordinarily be found preferable," that if the power of Government to interfere is left undefined, it will practically be unlimited ; that if the President of the Committee is not made clearly to understand that he is only its mouthpiece, he will persist in believing that he is its master, If it is left to the official body to surrender only so

much of its power, or rather nominal importance, as it thinks fit ; if the plea that " the time has not yet come," is to be accepted at once as sufficient reason for indefinite delay ; if in a word the introduction of popular measures is to be left to the option of each official, there can be little doubt how this option will be exercised. Either the measures will not be introduced at all, or if introduced will be a contemptible sham ; all real power will be jealously retained by the officials, and the popular representatives will be merely so many puppets met together to register his decrees. It is therefore the duty of the Legislature to see that the matter is not left optional ; we do not mean that it should enact one hard and fast measure for all parts of the country ; we merely point out that it is its duty to insist on such a minimum of liberality as will prevent the working of the measure from in any case degenerating into a sham ; the maximum of liberality may be left undefined, for there is no chance of its being abused.

It is no part of the present article to put forth views as to what institutions of India, ought to be ; we are merely concerned with the questions whether existing institutions perform the work for which they were intended. We are compelled to answer most decidedly that they do not. The institution of which we speak is the Legislative Council. The Act constituting this body, though a most cautious measure, really intended to establish the most representative assembly that could be collected in India.

The practical carrying out of this intention was left to the Viceroy, who at first set about the task with zeal. At the commencement, that is, during greater part of the reign of Sir John Lawrence, a real desire was shown to consult the feeling of the country, and to treat its representatives with respect ; but the instant the Council attempted to assert a will of its own, the feeling of the Government towards it completely changed. The members of the executive became, instead of members of a deliberative assembly, an organised band of officials resolved to carry their measures in spite of all opposition. To such a resolve the additional members could offer no effectual resistance, and they therefore became contemptible in the eyes of their opponents. The feeling of the country became a thing to be laughed at, and not a thing to be consulted ; its representatives were no longer experienced and valued colleagues, they became rather a number of backward school-boys privileged with the opportunity of improving their minds by listening to the wisdom of their instructors. These instructors, having usurped all real power, exercise it like true pedagogues. They seize eagerly every possible opportunity of making a new " rule," or altering an old one to the bewilderment of boys and under-masters alike. High-flown discourses are delivered on the benefits of " liberty," " progress," and other abstract principles ; but when

it comes to putting these principles into practice, their professors obstinately refuse to part with the slightest fragment of real power. We shall be told that to scold and find fault is an easy task, but a worse than useless one unless a remedy is suggested. We answer that until the fault is pointed out, it is useless to talk of a remedy; it has been the object of our present remarks to clearly point out an existing fault, and not to rail vaguely. We believe we have succeeded in doing so. We would ask, "Does the Legislative Council at present possess the confidence of a single class in the country?" It is disliked by officials because of its incessant meddling and "tinkering" at the existing law; of the public generally, those who really desire the progress of India, and think seriously of its future, are disgusted at seeing those who ought to be its leaders uttering magniloquent and insincere orations on abstract principles, and either openly deriding their practical application, or passing measures which they know will be a sham; whilst that great class of the public that does not think but pays, feels that the only practical result of all these philanthropic professions is a grievous increase of taxation. But if we point out a fault, we are no less ready to suggest a remedy. We would say to the members of the Government—Consider carefully what was the intention of the framers of the Councils' Act, and then honestly resolve to carry out that intention. "Be not wise in your own conceit." Do not think that your speeches are unanswerable, because from the accidents of your position they are but mildly criticised. Do not believe that you know everything, and your colleagues nothing; it is quite possible for a man to be a man of thought and culture, although he has been engaged for 20 years in the practical management of an Indian district; your "theories" that you parade as startling discoveries may be ideas that have been known to him for years, and the truth of which he has repeatedly tested by practical experiment. A man is not necessarily a man of genius, because his name appears in every daily paper, nor is another necessarily a fool because he is unknown. Think not of your own knowledge, but of your own ignorance. Before declaring your measures perfect, go to the other side of the picture and try to see it as the people see it. We really believe that nothing would so benefit the Council as a cold weather recess, to be spent by them in acquiring knowledge. This knowledge is not obtained by a flying visit to the great men of a provincial capital; it must be sought for below the surface. Let a member spend a long visit, say a month, with a district officer; let him accompany him into camp, and see what the administration of a district really is; let him converse freely with his host, and not catechize him as a school-master; during the cold season he might pay at least three

such visits ; on his return to Council at the end of them, the experience he would have gained would be invaluable. He would have learned on what points there is a real public feeling, and on what points a narrow-minded and ignorant official is trying to impose on us his prejudices as a public opinion which has no existence. This knowledge can only be gained by personal intercourse ; the present plan of calling for opinions results only in a number of essays ; the practical experience of the writers of which often varies inversely with their power of writing. The effect of this intercourse could not fail to be socially beneficial ; it would do much to diminish contemptuous arrogance on the one side, and an unreasoning and almost sullen dislike on the other. The country would feel confidence that the future Acts of the Council would be not a mere enactment of, vague theories, but an honest endeavour to meet what the framers of the measure believe to be the actual wants of the people. A further experience would no doubt confirm the views of our legislators on some points, but it would most certainly modify them on others ; what their new views might be we cannot pretend to say, the great point is that they would be based on actual knowledge and not on mere conjecture ; on the greatest point of all we feel certain they would agree with us, and return to Council thoroughly convinced "that the country prays for rest."

ART. VII.—THE TEACHING OF MR. MAURICE.

“DEEP read professors,” says Jean Paul Richter, “since they have become day-labourers, after the manner of condemned criminals, in the water-works and mining operations of the critical philosophy, weigh the existence of God as apathetically and as cold-heartedly as though it were a question of the existence of the kraken or the unicorn.” The charge is true now of many people quite other than “deep read professors”—people who without any work in critical or other philosophy tell you as an ascertained fact, that Christianity is an exploded fable. And even among those who dissent from this statement there are few who seem to feel or perceive the vital and tremendous issues involved in it, supposing it to be true. Let us consider for a moment what it means. It means that Christ was either a liar or a monomaniac. It means that all the heroism, the constancy, the purity, the suffering which gradually erected the fabric of Christendom were put forth in behalf of a delusion. It means that this world with all its immeasurable burden of human woe, must wander on for ever, through the abyss of space, without a ray of hope to cheer its path. We do not mean that we are not to accept even these tremendous alternatives, if the evidence compels us to do so, but at any rate let us thoroughly understand the nature of the question in debate. At present, it seems at times as if men were ready to accept almost any explanation of the origin and destiny of man as more likely to be true than the Christian hypothesis. Professor Tyndall gets up, and in a lecture of half an hour, calmly deduces all the intellectual and physical life of the earth from a cloud of thin flame, amid universal plaudits at his speculative ability. Mr. Darwin declares we are nothing but marine ascidians, somewhat developed, and the world with one consent begins to rejoice; and even to get angry and call hard names if any one dares to object to this peculiar parentage. But if any one ventures to assert that in his belief the world and man are the creation of a God of Love who has revealed Himself as such in the person of His Son, he is regarded not without contempt, as an antique combination of the bigot and the fool and altogether belittled the age.

These questions, however, are not so easily settled, as some of us seem to suppose. The spiritual life of nineteen centuries cannot pass into nothingness at the *ipse dixit* of one. So long as sorrow and love remain in the world, the teaching of Christ and Paul and John will cleave closer to the hearts of human kind than that of Messrs. Huxley, Darwin, and Tyndall. That exalted frame of mind which would enable a man to say calmly, “I am but a

marine ascidian ; what have I to do with God, and a world beyond the grave," will never be enjoyed but by a very few. Until we can cut out, as with a knife, the reason, affections and the imagination from the fabric of our inner life, the thoughts that wander through eternity will never consent to be imprisoned within the walls of sense. There is that within the mind of man, which aspires after, which will be satisfied with nothing less than, the revelation of a perfect good—an infinite love. To show, the working of that aspiration in every period of this world's history ; to explain how it has been met and fulfilled, and thereby to justify the ways of God to men, was the life work of Professor Maurice. His teaching in a special manner dug down beneath the accretions of centuries, and re-discovered for mankind the glad tidings of salvation once proclaimed at Jerusalem. So far as a single brief article will permit, we propose to give an account of the nature of the work which had to be done, and the principles which Mr. Maurice brought with him to the task.

The Reformation is generally spoken of compendiously as an assertion of the right of private judgment against the authority of the Church ; but it would be truer to say that this principle was latent in it, than explicitly avowed. It certainly had nothing to do with that which provoked Luther's famous theses. Leo X., the Pope of that period, was a thoroughly unbelieving pagan with fine æsthetic sensibilities. These induced him to desire that Rome should be adorned with the finest church in the whole world. St. Peter's Church having thus become a subjective idea, the next question was—how to raise money to convert the subjective idea into an objective fact. No way seemed so likely to return a plentiful harvest as the sale of indulgences for sins. The Pope was Lord of both worlds,—might he not do what he would with his own ? He preferred to build a Church in this world to inflicting punishments in the next, provided, that is, that he was properly paid for doing so. The idea, it must be confessed, was an excellent one from the commercial point of view contemplated by the Father of Christendom. No one who could escape the flames of purgatory by the expenditure of a sum of money would be likely to hesitate before he came down with the cash. But, alas ! the best laid schemes of mice and men "gang aft agce." It had never occurred to the Pope that the sense of sin, simply as sin, could possibly be a source of discomfort to any one, so long as he was quite certain that it brought with sin no after punishment. The spirit of the great Apostle of the Gentiles had long ago ceased to influence the Church ; and nothing could well have seemed more improbable, than that it should appear at this juncture clothed in the form of an Augustinian monk to wrestle once more with spiritual wickedness in high places. Yet so

it was. Of the Apostle Paul, a living divine has written :—
 “It is a new and hitherto unheard-of language in which the
 Apostle denounces sin. They are not moral evils but spiri-
 tual. They corrupt the soul; they defile the temple of the
 Holy Ghost; they cut men off from the body of Christ . . .

. From within, not from without,
 the nature of sin has to be explained; as it appears in the depths of
 the human soul, in the awakening conscience of mankind. Even
 its consequences in another state of being are but slightly touched
 upon, in comparison with that living death which itself is. It is
 not merely a vice or crime, or even an offence against the law of
 God, to be punished here or hereafter. It is more than this. It
 is what men feel in themselves, not what they observe in those
 around them; not what shall be, but what is; a terrible con-
 sciousness, a mystery of iniquity, a communion with unseen powers
 of evil.”* Such, in so many words, was the sense of sin in the mind
 of Luther—a real veritable chain which held captive the will, and all
 the higher faculties of the mind. To suppose that a man could be
 loosed from this chain by the payment of a sum of money was to
 him flat blasphemy,—to set at naught the life and death of
 Christ, and the whole work of redemption. This inward condi-
 tion of impurity was itself the punishment of sin, and a man
 could not be freed from the one without the other.

This re-discovery of the forgotten teaching of St. Paul changed
 the face of Europe; but in England little more than the echoes
 of Luther’s trumpet-call sounded in the ears of the people. Mean-
 er motives guided the nation in the direction of Protestantism—
 the plunder of the abbey lands on the part of the nobility, the
 desire for a young wife on the part of the king. But the per-
 secutions of Queen Mary cemented with blood the foundations of
 the new faith. Queen Elizabeth, though perpetually coquetting
 with Rome, had sufficient penetration to see that she could
 not safely venture to do more; and the defeat of the Spanish
 Armada put an end finally even to the coquetry. Spain and
 England from thenceforth became the two rival representatives of
 the old and the new. But though it was an easy thing to renounce
 the authority of the Pope, it was not at all easy to eradicate the
 habits acquired in the school of Romanism. The principle of autho-
 rity given up in theory, remained practically as powerful and
 trenchant as ever. The Bishops, of whom Laud may be con-
 sidered as the type, unless restrained by the civil power, never
 hesitated to execute and mutilate Dissenters and Romanists
 in precisely the same manner as if they had been infallible mem-
 bers of an infallible organisation. They honestly believed that truth

* Jowett’s Epistles of St. Paul.

and salvation could be found nowhere outside of the English Church as by law established ; and they had been too long accustomed to see truth and salvation forced into the minds of men by the sheer weight of the secular arm, to perceive that persecution was inconsistent with their present position. Just so with the Puritan party, including in that title all the various shades of dissent which culminated in the Fifth Monarchy Men. These men had realised one side of Scripture teaching with wonderful clearness. They saw that if Christ was really what He affirmed Himself to be, His Spirit must in some way or other be in direct and immediate communication with the mind of man. Thence it was an easy step to the conviction that they themselves, as the great *upholders* of this tenet were, in some especial sense, the recipients of this Spirit ; and consequently that all who persecuted or remained aloof from them, were *ipso facto* cut off from the body of the redeemed, and reserved for everlasting torments. Such malignants were stamped by their own acts as the enemies of God and of His elect, and as such, rightly delivered over to the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. The Puritan, like the High Churchman, found his final resource in the arm of flesh. These two parties, as every one knows, fought on with varying success, but unvarying animosity, until the Revolution of 1688, which saved both parties from falling under the old yoke of Romanism. Public opinion then set in strongly in favour of toleration. People began to perceive that on High Church principles it was impossible to justify the separation from Rome at all ; that if the English Church was to become a persecuting agency, with the simple difference of persecuting in favour of a different form of doctrine, it would be only the substitution of one tyranny for another. On the other hand the sword of the Lord and of Gideon must also be got back into its sheath, and in some way fastened into it. The extravagances of private judgment—of “the inner light”—were quite as perilous to peace and order as the pretensions of churchmen. A third criterion of truth must be found, which should be recognised as such by all men. Out of this necessity sprang a new theological dictator named the *Reason* ; it was never precisely defined, but it was assumed to belong to all men ; all arguments had to be addressed to it, and the validity of the Christian religion had to be proved to the satisfaction of this Reason. Otherwise in the judgment of both the orthodox and the heterodox it had no claim on the convictions of mankind. Perhaps the word which at the present day is most nearly synonymous with Reason as understood by the eighteenth century divines is “common sense.” The Common Sense—that which is to be found in all human beings alike—was erected into a sort of supreme judge on the most delicate

spiritual questions. Paley's writings are perhaps as good an example as any, of the manner in which the common sense divine dealt with the mysteries of Christianity. All that was really mysterious was kept out of sight. The ethical sanctions were the points on which the chief stress was laid. Hume, Paley considered, was quite right when he grounded all morality in the fact of its utility. Where he fell into error was in conceiving that men could be induced to be benevolent and honest, for the simple reason that it was on the whole useful to be so. A much stronger motive was required. That motive Paley discovered in what he held to be the Christian sanction, namely, that if you were not benevolent and honest, you would suffer everlasting torments after death; and if you were, you would enjoy everlasting happiness. The prospect of these two states of existence he considers a sufficient motive, or if they are not, it is quite certain nothing less would be. That being settled, the next thing was to determine if there was a God who had revealed these rewards and punishments. This Paley undertook to do, in his *Natural Theology* and his *Evidences of Christianity*. The adaptation of means to ends discernible through all the world of nature, animate and inanimate, was, he held, a sufficient proof of an intelligent Creator; and the power to work miracles was a sufficient proof of a messenger sent from God. The *Natural Theology* is the demonstration of the one thesis; the *Evidences*, the demonstration of the other. In this manner Christianity was very completely divested of the mystical splendours cast around it by the irrational enthusiasm of Evangelists and Apostles, and introduced to the common sense of the age as the best auxiliary to the parish constable that had yet been invented. This too exactly suited the temper of the time, and Paley was at once recognised as a mighty Defender of the Faith. The reader will at once perceive that a Christianity of this kind was a very safe thing indeed. The "inner light" having been quenched, the sword of the Lord and of Gideon must perforce rust idly in its sheath. The Church no longer had a motive to persecute, because the only piece of divine truth which had been entrusted to her did not refer to this world at all. Her mission was simply to declare that everlasting torments awaited all those in the next world, who were not sufficiently convinced in this of the utility of honesty and benevolence to make them the rule of their lives.

The French Revolution shattered into pieces this artificial fabric of a common sense Christianity. The characteristic of the eighteenth century—that which distinguishes it from all which went before it—is its cold and almost devilish inhumanity. Even in the fiercest persecutions of the Romish Church there is discernible a zeal for the spiritual well-being of humanity

which is more hopeful and less execrable than the stony atheistic indifference of this particular age. In whatever quarter of Europe we look, and at whatever time, we see the same monotonous and dreadful spectacle of misery, famine, and bloodshedding—never by any chance for a noble cause, but to gratify the whim of some Royal mistress, or the ambition of some court favourite. The kings and their nobles, in every country in Europe (England included), regarded the common people as simple instruments to carry out their pleasure, whatever that might be. They shed their blood like so much water; they fed themselves fat on the sweat of the peasant and the pittance of the widow and the orphan.* There could have been but one termination

* There is a terrible account of these things in Erckmann-Chatrian's "Story of a Peasant," from which we make an extract, because we believe that there are still people who found who suppose the French Revolution to have been a quite unprovoked eruption of human ferocity. "I am not to be made to believe that the peasantry was happy before the Revolution; I have seen what they call 'the good old times;' I have seen our old villages; I have seen the lean, scraggy labourers with neither shirts, nor sabots, but only a frock and linen pantaloons, summer and winter alike; their wives so sunburnt, so filthy and ragged that they might be taken for beasts; their children hanging about the doors with nothing but a rag to cover them round their loins. Even the seigneurs themselves could not help writing in their books at that time 'that the poor animals bent over the ground in sunshine and in rain to get bread, for every one ought at least to have a little of it to eat.' They wrote thus in a moment of good feeling, and then they thought no more of it. These things are never to be forgotten. . . . And old people used to speak of a state of things still worse; they talked about the great wars of the Swedes and the French and the Lorrainers—the Seven Years' war—when they hanged the peasants to the trees in bunches; they spoke of the great plague

which followed to complete the ruin of every net. You could go for leagues without meeting a soul." Or take the companion picture of a historian, though no historian ever wrote truer history than the two French novelists. "Close viewed," says Carlyle, speaking of the French nobility, "their industry and function is that of dressing gracefully and eating sumptuously. As for their debauchery and depravity it is perhaps unexampled since the era of Tiberius and Commodus. Such are the shepherds of the people; and now how fares it with the flock? with the flock as is inevitable, it fares ill and ever worse. They are not tended, they are only regularly shorn. They are sent for to do statute labour and to pay statute taxes; to fatten battle fields (named beds of honour) with their bodies in quarrels which are not theirs; their hand and toil is in every possession of man; but for themselves they have little or no possession. Untaught, uncomfortable, unfed; to pine stagnantly in thick obscurication, squalid destitution, and obstruction; this is the lot of the millions." And, quoting from the same great writer, this was the result.—"When it seemed as if no Reality any longer existed, but only Phantasms of realities, and God's Universe were the work of the tailor and upholsterer, mainly, and men were buckram masks that went about becking and grimac-

to that horrible state of things, and what that was we all know. The great world of kings and nobles and fine ladies had been fiddling and dancing over a volcano, which suddenly broke forth in flame and thunder, and swallowed them up. The particular circumstance, however, with which we have to deal, is the fundamental principle of the French Revolutionist—the absolute unquestionable supremacy of the Reason. This Reason was in truth the “inner light” of the Fifth Monarchy man divested of its theological origin. Rousseau, the originator of this article of faith, repellent as his general character must always be, had one honourable quality which distinguished him from all the wits and philosophers of his day. He had a profound and eager sympathy for the sorrow and the pain of the poor and helpless. Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, and the rest of that school never advanced beyond an intellectual perception of the contradictions and injustices among which they lived. They could ridicule them, and at the same time thoroughly enjoy them. The world with all its wrongs and absurdities was a pleasant world to them; they eat and drank of its best; were the friends of kings and empresses, and mingled in the most unexceptionable society. To have attempted seriously to overthrow such a system of things because abstract Reason or abstract Justice demanded it—to have substituted an enraged and hungry people for these exquisitely mannered lords and ladies, would have seemed to them the freak of a raving lunatic. Not so with Rousseau. The sorrow and oppression of the poor he felt as though they were his own. It was the recoil from the hateful spectacle of the world before him, which carried him away into that admiration of savage life that has ever since been a puzzle to his critics. Rousseau knew nothing of savage life, but he may be pardoned if he deemed the independence of the mountain and the forest a better atmosphere for the growth of humanity, than that hideous eighteenth century with its debauched kings, its sham nobility, atheistic clergy, and bleeding and wretched peasantry.

Ever since the “divine rights of kings” had come to an untimely end in the expulsion of King James II., the efforts of all thinking men had been engaged in devising some new foundation on which to rest the legitimacy of government. It was felt that the expulsion of James might be converted into a most unpleasant

ing there—on a sudden, the earth yawned asunder, and amid Tartarean smoke and glare of fierce brightness rose SATANOLATRYISM, many headed, fire breathing, and asks,—What think ye of me? Well may the luckless masks start together terror

struck ‘into expressive well-concerted groups.’ It is indeed, friends, a most singular, most fatal thing. Let whoever is but buckram and a phantasm look to it; ill verily may it fare with him; here methinks he cannot much longer be.”

precedent against any existing authority which the people did not approve. Locke was the magician who contrived to slide in between the "Will of the People" and the legality of the government that ingenious fiction of an "original contract" entered into at some unknown period of the world's history, whereby the people had agreed to surrender in perpetuity a portion of their liberty of action to their rulers. It is difficult to conceive how any one could have derived any consolation from such a transparent imposture. But a world, "the work of the tailor and upholsterer mainly," had, we suppose, a natural affinity for the unreal, and conceived that by means of this original contract, it had built its house upon immovable granite. It was this granite rock that Rousseau shattered to pieces in his great work on the *Contrat Social*.

The idea of an original contract he scouted as a palpable absurdity. If it was the case that such a grant of dominion was made to Adam or Noah, it might, for aught he knew to the contrary, have descended upon him. But there could be no such contract. There were no parties between whom it could be made. The quality which distinguished man from the brute creation was the light of Reason. We could fell the tree, or harness the horse, merely as a means to an end—using both the one and the other as instruments to accomplish a purpose which was not theirs. But we could not do so with man; we could not set aside his possession of Reason, and use him simply as a tool, without the commission of a crying wrong. And what it was wrong for one man to do, could not be made right though all the kings of the earth leagued together to attempt it. "The Reason in each man was his supreme lawgiver, and no power on earth had a moral *right* to coerce it. Arguing from these high *a priori* principles, Rousseau declared that no government whatever had a particle of *right* to claim the allegiance of a single one of its subjects, except in so far as it accorded with the ideas of that subject's Reason; neither on the other hand, could the subject obey any government which did not answer to this condition without committing high treason against that Reason which had the exclusive right to govern his actions. All government must, in fact, be an expression of pure Reason or it was good for nothing. But how to get this pure Reason embodied in an objective form? By means of great national assemblies. The errors and caprices of individuals are, in such assemblies, neutralised by opposite errors, "and the winds rushing from all quarters at once with equal force, produce for the time a deep calm, during which the general will arising from general Reason displays itself."†

Rousseau, however, had quite sufficient discernment to know that large assemblies of men are not invariably carried away into the

* Coleridge's Friend, vol. i. p. 255.

regions of pure Reason, but quite as often into those of Passion, or any other political madness; and he drew a distinction between "the will of all" and "the will of the majority," declaring that only the former carried with it the authority of Reason—a distinction far too subtle to be regarded or even apprehended by a people groaning under the oppressions of injuries, and filled with intense hatred for those who oppressed them.

These startling propositions descended into the minds of the French people like sparks on a powder magazine. Coleridge tells us in one of his essays how he had met "with men of intelligence who at the commencement of the Revolution were travelling on foot through the French provinces, and they bear witness, that in the remotest villages every tongue was employed in echoing and enforcing the doctrines of the Parisian journalists" (i.e., the principles of Rousseau); "that the public highways were crowded with enthusiasts, some shouting the watchwords of the Revolution, others disputing on the most abstract principles of the universal constitution, which they fully believed that all the nations of the earth were shortly to adopt; the most ignorant among them confident of his fitness for the highest duties of a legislator; and all prepared to shed their blood in the defence of the inalienable sovereignty of the self-governed people. The more abstract the notions were, with the closer affinity did they combine with the most fervent feelings, and all the immediate impulses to action."

The "Reason" of the French revolutionist was, as we have already said, identical with the "inner light" of the Fifth Monarchy man; but the Fifth Monarchy man found the most perfect expression of the "inner light" in the Jewish polity; the Frenchman, in the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Reason being the distinctive attribute of man, and the same in all men, all men were necessarily united by it in an equal bond of brotherhood; Reason at the same time being the supreme law, each man was entitled to absolute freedom of action, as being a complete polity in himself. But they were similar in this, that they both held themselves bound to yield an unquestioning submission to any mandates they supposed to issue from the voice within them. Hence their scornful disregard of the historical precedent,—their absolute hatred of the teaching of experience; and hence, also, that combination of savage intolerance and enthusiastic heroism which distinguished them. The Pure Reason decreed the death of all aristocrats either real or suspected, as enemies of the universal constitution, and all the land of France was drenched with blood in consequence; but the Pure Reason decreed also that France should be freed from foreign tyrants, and thereby evoked in Frenchmen a courage and an endurance which the world has but rarely seen. Pure Reason became

in a word, the Frenchman's God, and for a time by far the strongest one in a world made by "the tailor and upholsterer." But Pure Reason, as we know, soon degenerated into pure lust of conquest; and the lust of conquest kindled that great awakening of national life in Spain, Germany, and Russia which drove Napoleon from his throne, and has in these latter days wrought out the unity of Italy and Germany. These tremendous events were as the revelations of a new world to the greatest minds in England. It is impossible to compare the writings of Shelley, Byron, Coleridge, Wordsworth, or Scott with any of their forerunners in the eighteenth century, and not to be conscious of a marvellous and radical change. The "phantasm world" had passed away with a confused noise and garments rolled in blood. Life had assumed a new and a profounder meaning. The spiritual capacities of human nature were suddenly laid bare, and men gazed at them amazed as recovered treasures which had long ago been lost and forgotten in the depths of some unfathomable sea.

A religion of the Paleyan type could no more furnish a resting place for the master spirits of that stormy time, than a hencoop would content the mountain eagle "sailing with supreme dominion through the azure realms of air." There was, it is true, the evangelicalism which had grown up out of the preaching of the two Wesleys and Whitfield. But this type of Christianity, originating as it did in the apprehension of certain profound spiritual realities, had rapidly petrified into a hard and repulsive system of dogma. Looked at from the outside, it did not represent Christianity as a free gift of salvation offered to all men, but a boon reserved for a few on certain intellectual conditions. Naturally, the Evangelical averred, all men on account of the sin of Adam were doomed to everlasting torments for the crime of being born. To obviate this necessity, God had provided a remedy, the details of which are to be found in the New Testament. The remedy was to put His Son to death, "as if," to quote the language of an English divine "eternal love resolved in fury to strike, and so as He had His blow, it mattered not whether it fell on the whole world, or on the precious head of His own chosen Son." But singularly enough though Christ had suffered and died, though the (so-called) justice of God had been appeased by the blood of an innocent victim, mankind remained in the same miserable condition as before. The remedy was effectual in the case of those only who believed it to be a *bond fide* remedy. If a man was sceptical, or even if he was so unfortunate as not to have heard of the remedy at all, (although in that case, there is a saving clause known as "unconvenanted, mercies" which may help him at a pinch)—then so far as he was concerned there was no remedy. He was still in his sins.

We are aware beforehand that an Evangelical would cry out

against the above account of his theology as a gross caricature. Viewed from *within*, this singular scheme of salvation has appeared to thousands of devout minds, as irradiated through and through with the splendour of divine love. But we are speaking of it as it appeared to those that were without; men like Shelley and Byron who would gladly have found some ultimate faith as a foundation for their existence, but turned away from this as the revelation of a Moloch, rather than a God of love. The glorious hope, so speedily quenched in blood, which had arisen with the downfall of the French Monarchy, the cruel and hateful reaction which crushed the liberties of Europe after the peace of 1815, had forced upon all thinking men an intolerable sense of the mysteries and contradictions of existence. They did not care for an escape for themselves alone, out of a world given over to evil and misery. What they desired to know was, whether there existed any Power anywhere who could and would set the world right, who could and would fight for the slave, the widow, and the orphan against the tyrant and the oppressor. Evangelicalism answered in effect, that of any such Power they knew nothing whatever. So far as they had any information on the subject, the miseries of this world were only a feeble preliminary of those infinitely greater agonies which awaited human beings in the next. They had, however, this *nostrum*. If Shelley or Byron would become an evangelical, he would be safe. This, however, Shelley and Byron did not find it possible to do; and their writings remain to us a profoundly interesting commentary on the religious orthodoxy of their day, and the record of thoughts which must have been working in a multitude of minds, who had no power to give them expression.

At this time, moreover, the very foundation of Evangelicalism, its belief in the verbal inspiration of scripture, was being rapidly sap-ped away by the advance of German criticism. We hear but little now of verbal inspiration; such of the clergy as still cling to the tenet deeming it wisest to say very little about it. But thirty years ago it was held to be the very corner stone of Christianity. Coleridge, when he ventures to argue against it in his *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, does so with the air of a man who is leading a forlorn hope. He has to avow again and again that he has no wish to extirpate Christianity root and branch, but he seems to be tolerably certain that his design will be deemed to be nothing less. When the late Dean Milman published the first edition of his *History of the Jews*, he was assailed by a howl of indignation from the orthodox world because he had dared to call Abraham a Sheikh. In those days the Bible was indeed a book *sui generis*. The Old Testament was held to be either entirely typical, or entirely predictive. The patriarchs, kings, lawgivers

soldiers,—nay even the entire people of Israel were not men at all. They were types of the New Testament—self-conscious types, who recognised themselves as such, and regulated the whole conduct of their lives so as to manifest most completely this typical character. The Prophets were exclusively predictors of future events, not merely events which concerned the Jews, but incidents relating to the Pope of Rome, the Turks, Napoleon Buonaparte, and other notable people. There was none of the life of humanity in the Bible at all. You might cut it into ten thousand pieces, tear a text out of it utterly regardless of the context; throw it thus raw and bleeding at the head of an infidel, and every right-minded orthodox person was quite convinced that you had completely demolished him. Of the Book of Revelations we need not speak. The trumpets, vials, and all the sublime symbolism of that book, are still being used in the wild and wonderful manner which was once applied to the whole book. To crown all, by an easy and natural fallacy, the infallibility which was supposed to belong to the Bible, was made to extend to the Evangelical interpretation of it. If you dissented from the interpretation, you were thought to reject the authority of the book. Such was the condition of English Christianity between 1830-40, when Mr. Maurice published his first great work, “*The Kingdom of Christ.*” It seemed to lie—a lifeless corpse—amid a world shaken and racked by vast and novel forces which came forth from mental depths whither it had never penetrated, and over which it had no control. “Can these dead bones live?” That was the question. Men were not wanting who believed they could, although they sought to revivify them in different ways. On the one side were the leaders of the High Church movement, Pusey, Keble, Newman, and others; on the other the founders of the Broad Church, Arnold, Milman, Julius Hare, and Mr. Maurice. Few inquiries would be more interesting than to trace the growth of these two phases of English spiritual life, and mark their action and reaction one upon another; but this is not our present purpose. We have only to do with the teaching of a single theologian. There is, however, one remark which we think it necessary to make. The leaders of the High Church movement combined together to teach a certain definite system of theology, about which they all were of one mind; hence there is no injustice done if we hold them collectively responsible for any of the opinions expressed in the “*Tracts for the Times*” Tract XC., for example, expressed the sentiments of Pusey and Keble quite as correctly as those of Newman. But there is no such uniformity of thought among Broad Church theologians. It is in the moral attitude they assume towards Inquiry that they resemble each other, not in the principles they apply to the inter-

pretation of Scripture. They are one in contending for the unfettered freedom of the mind to direct its researches in any direction it pleases; but there the similarity ceases. Mr. Ryle does not differ more radically from Dr. Pusey than Mr. Maurice does from Mr. Jowett, or Archdeacon Hare and Dean Milman from the writers in the "Esays and Reviews," or Bishop Colenso.

German criticism, at the time Mr. Maurice entered the battleground of theology, had, as we have said, sapped the foundations of Evangelicalism. The Bible had been treated like any other book—the Jews like any other people; and for the purposes of Evangelical theology both appeared to have emerged from the encounter most seriously damaged, if not wounded to death. It was impossible now to deny that Abraham was a Sheikh, and not merely a type,—that the early Patriarchs were men, and men too who did very questionable things. Moses, these audacious critics declared, had not written the Pentateuch, at least in its present form; and the Prophets were moral teachers, not primarily or mainly predictors of future events. They had no knowledge of the Turks or Napoleon Buonaparte; and in a word the Old Testament was simply the literature of an insignificant and partially civilised people, thickly studded with the legends, errors, and supernatural beliefs natural to the circumstances in which the various writings were produced. Such were the objections and difficulties which Mr. Maurice had to encounter. Writing some time ago in the *Englishman*, the author of this paper showed how Mr. Maurice turned the flank of these objections rather than met them face to face. We need not repeat in detail what we then said. Briefly stated, Mr. Maurice diverted the mind of the student from the authorship of a book, to that which it contained. This he held to be the important point. If, for example, the book of Deuteronomy set forth the true and only source of national prosperity, it was of small moment if the letters of it were written down by Moses or Ezra or some other person unknown. If, on the other hand, it simply hung out a series of false lights to lure the seeker upon rocks and breakers, the mere fact that it was written by Moses, would not avail to make it less pernicious. In adopting this line of argument, Mr. Maurice was very far from conceding their conclusions to the "destructive" critics. He simply addressed himself to a different task, feeling that Christianity could never be the universal faith it claimed to be, if all belief in it must be preceded by a tedious and intricate historical inquiry. Taking the Old Testament simply as the religious literature of the Jewish people, containing as such their conception of the nature of God, and His government of the world, was that conception, he asked, a true one, when tried by the test of universal history? This mode of stating the problem at once relieved the

Christian from the task of defending an untenable theory of inspiration, and removed the discussion to the sure ground of historical fact. The truth of the prophetic teaching first ascertained by a close and searching induction was made the ground of their inspiration ; instead of the *assumption* of their inspiration being used to establish the truth of their teaching. The belief in a divine government—the one God ruling in righteousness—is, according to Mr. Maurice, that which gives a unity to all the writings of the Old Testament. We perceive it growing into greater clearness to the inner eye of Jewish seer, prophet, and historian through all the changes of their nation's history. There is to their inspired insight nothing purposeless or wanton either in the march of history or the endless transformations of nature. The heavens declare the glory of God—the wind and storm are obedient to His word. The deliverance of the Israelites from the hand of Pharaoh, and the destruction of their enemies in the Red Sea, were not miracles to them in our sense of the word—arbitrary interferences with the ordinary course of nature. They were *signs* of the divine government of a God who felt for the slave and hated oppression. And so also were every triumph and every trial which the chosen people exulted in or endured. "Prophecy," says Mr. Maurice, "according to their use and understanding of it, is the utterance of the mind of Him who was, and is, and is to come. Events, days of the Lord, crises in national history were manifestations of His everlasting mind and purpose. The seer was to explain the past and the present ; only in connection with these did he speak of the future. He told what curses men were bringing upon themselves by transgressing the laws which individuals and nations were created to obey. He told how the purposes of the Divine will were developing themselves in a regular progression, in despite of the opposition of all self-will. He told how they would move on steadily, till all that God wills for man, for this universe, for His own glory, has been accomplished."

"But if God be the perfectly righteous Being, the root of evil must then exist somewhere in the nature of man. The change that he needs, is a thorough regeneration of the inner man by some Power other than himself, who is not fettered by the chain of evil which imprisons him. This is the point of transition in which the old covenant merges into the new. The Old Testament treats of God in His relations with a nation ; the New, in His relations with the individual. The Old Testament reveals the divinely ordained laws which ensure the peace and prosperity of the world ; the New, the spiritual Powers who are working to bring the wills of men into harmony with them.

During the eighteenth century, the free-thinking philosophers had not been aware of any deep significance in the religious feelings of

mankind. They deemed religions (Christianity included) to be in the main devices of the priests to increase their own importance, which easily succeeded owing to the ignorance and folly of the vulgar. Nothing can exceed the ineffable contempt with which Hume regards all such delusions of the human mind. "If," he says, theology went not beyond reason and common sense, her doctrines would appear too easy and familiar. Amazement must of necessity be raised; mystery affected; darkness and obscurity sought after; and a foundation of merit afforded to the devout votaries who desire an opportunity of subduing their rebellious reason by the belief of the most unintelligible sophisms. Ecclesiastical history sufficiently confirms these reflections. When a controversy is started, some people always pretend with certainty to foretell the issue. Whichever opinion, say they, is most contrary to plain sense is sure to prevail; even where the general interest of the system requires not that decision

.. "To oppose the torrent of scholastic religion by such feeble maxims as these, that *it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be*, that *the whole is greater than a part*, that *two and three make five*; is pretending to stop the ocean with a bulrush. Will you set up profane reason against sacred mystery? No punishment is great enough for your impiety. And the same fires which were kindled for heretics, will serve also for the destruction of philosophers." This serene scorn was doomed to be rudely shaken. Men found with amazement that religions were not of necessity made by lying and crafty priests. The rising of the French people, as the worshippers of Pure Reason, showed that what men had known as religious faith, needed no theological mysteries to waken it into a most fearful and destructive activity. It was innate in man. Philosophers must study it; and the "comparative study of religions" began. As in the case of the Old Testament, the old orthodox fences which surrounded the New began speedily to crumble away and fall to pieces, the moment that their strength was tried. To whatever religion the inquirer turned, Buddhism, Brâhmanism, or the faith of Zoroaster, he met with the same ideas which had found expression in Christianity. There was everywhere the same craving after a fuller knowledge of the ultimate source of life and reason; the same demand for a Redeemer or Deliverer; the same tendency to clothe with divinity the memory of some bygone teacher or prophet—in a word imperfect expressions of precisely the same feelings which had given birth to Christianity. What was the inevitable conclusion? That all religions are but the workings of a certain theological faculty within us, and the life and character of Christ nothing but the myths which have grown up around the memory of a good man—the mind, self-deceived, affecting to find in him that ideal of perfection which existed only within itself. The four Gospels were

converted into a system of philosophy, and Christ Himself was dissolved away into the *idea of humanity*, "since plainly no such life was liveable."*

Mr. Maurice accepts all the facts which the researches of German theologians and philosophers have discovered. There has been in all the great nations who have left their mark upon the world this intense yearning for the knowledge of God. But is it not a contradiction in terms to say that this yearning has sprung up, so to speak, self-engendered? Does it not show that there is that within man which can receive communications from a Being higher than himself? nay more, does it not show that some rays of light from that higher region must already have penetrated to the dark chambers of his mind? otherwise why this craving for a fuller illumination? If human beings had been born deaf, they could have had no craving for music. If no window had been let into the soul to receive light from above, we, like the animals about us, would never have suffered from this perpetual unrest. This demand again for some messenger from God Himself to reveal His will, this tendency to invest one of ourselves with the divine knowledge we long after,—these facts are not sufficient to convert Christ into a myth. They merely show that if God is to reveal Himself at all to men, He must do so under the conditions of humanity; that in Christian language, the Word must take flesh and dwell among men, if they are to behold and apprehend the glory of the Father. The evidence then of a revelation would seem to be its power of meeting and satisfying these various demands which arise from the reason and the conscience. Even this, *per se*, may not be sufficient, but without it all other (so-called) evidence would be worthless. Now if we take the three great religions which, in their spiritual significance, approach nearest to Christianity, we find that to the Bráhma, that higher life of which his mind is conscious, is represented in his thought as the Pure Intelligence; and the whole aim of his life and discipline is to purify himself from outward sensible things that he may

* Mr. Browning has given an excellent account of this speculation in his poem "Christmas Day." quite account of this speculation in German professor *loquitur* :—

So, he purposed inquiring first
 Into the various sources whence
 This myth of Christ is derivable;
 Demanding from the evidence,
 (Since plainly no such life was liveable)
 How these phenomena should class?
 Whether it were best opine Christ was,
 Or never was at all, or whether
 He was or was not both together—
 It matters little for the name,
 So the idea be left the same, &c. &c.

approach nearer to this One Source of illumination. So also the Buddhist; while the follower of Zoroaster conceives it as proceeding from the Lord of all Light, mental as well as material. Each is a profoundly true and beautiful conception; and yet an imperfect one, which covered but a very small fraction of the universe. If God be Pure Intelligence, and Pure Light, whence then come evil and ignorance, and pain and sorrow? These too must have their primal source somewhere; and in response to that inquiry the dark forms of Siva the Destroyer, of Dharmit the Principle of Matter, of Ahriman the Lord of Darkness, gradually assume shape and consistency before the brooding imagination of the devotee. Thus enters in the principle of Manicheism, with all the terrible corruptions which follow in its train, which has broken up the pure monotheism of Bráhma and Buddhist into a gross and obscene idolatry, and which, in all three religions, speedily substituted the principle of evil for that of good as the real effectual ruler of the universe. This Manicheism has eaten into the very heart of the East. The Persian no longer speaks of Ahriman, and the English-speaking Bábú would certainly smile with good-humoured contempt if any one suspected him of being a believer in Siva the Destroyer. But though the name may be forgotten, the corruption bred by centuries of devil worship has closed up that other window of the soul, which let in light from the Pure Intelligence, the Lord of Light. Mere negation, which means an apathetic acceptance of evil, as something immortal and irremediable, and not altogether unpleasant, has taken the place of both. This is precisely the frame of mind which Christianity seeks to correct. The Hindu dreamed of a Word proceeding from the Pure Intelligence (Brahma), the Persian of a Light emanating from the Fountain of Light, which were the source of all that was true and good in themselves. But the terrible consciousness of evil within and without, could not be shut out by that belief. It mingled with it perforce; and converted each individual soul into a battle ground where good and evil, light and darkness, fought age after age in never ending conflict. Christianity meets and accepts this terrible experience. "Nowhere," to quote Mr. Maurice's exact language, "more distinctly than in Christian theology is there the recognition of the fact which the Siva-worshipper perceives; nowhere less effort to make men comfortable, by dissembling the fact that misery and death have gotten hold of the earth; nowhere a more emphatic affirmation of the witness which the hearts and consciences of men have borne everywhere, but with special earnestness in Hindústán, that in them, in the region of man's inner being, is the fiercest debate with the evil which he sees without; that there, in that region, he has to encounter it in its highest form, in its most radical principle. The Gospel does not start with a philosophical

lie ; what man by bitter experience has discovered to be his condition, it assumes to be his condition." (The Religions of the World, p. 174). But with this admission it provides also a way of escape. It is true, Christianity declares, as you have believed, that there is a Word, or Light, proceeding from the Supreme Intelligence, the Fountain of Light, or as He has been revealed to us, the Eternal Father ; and this light is the life and light of every human being born into the world. *This Word has taken flesh*, expressly to deliver men from those dreams of a Power of Destruction, engendered by the sense of evil, and the reproaches of conscience ; and to make them the servants of Him and of His Father, and of them only. He has done this, by the revelation, under the conditions of humanity, of the almighty power and infinite love of God. Here is the central point of the revolution which Mr. Maurice effected in Christian theology. He transformed it from a system of doctrine resting upon the assumed infallibility of a book, into the manifestation of a divine life working in the souls of men—of men not as Christians only, but by virtue of their humanity. He cast aside the dead letter, and rediscovered Christ as a living Power illumining the spiritual life of mankind in every country, and through every period of the world's history. Under this new aspect, all the exclusiveness and narrowness which had hitherto been the reproach of Christianity slipped away from it like a worn-out garment, and the whole question was transferred from the sterile regions of dogmatic theology into those of history and psychology.

The argument itself, as all arguments must, will have a different value to different minds. There are those who can look with calmness upon all the religious faiths of mankind, and the good and evil they have wrought as "a tale of little meaning though the words be strong." Man, they say, is confined on every side by the conditions of his understanding, and it is useless for him to beat himself against the bars of his prison-house. The Finite and the Relative can have no knowledge of the Absolute or the Infinite ; and falls into ridiculous contradictions when it conceives itself to have effected anything of the kind. Such minds are shut against the reasoning of Mr. Maurice. He might as well attempt to describe colours to a man blind from his youth. But the majority of men are not so constituted ; and they might reply as follows :—Whether or not we can hold converse with the Absolute or the Infinite, it is simply matter of fact that we do hold converse one with another. The evil and the good that are in the persons about us can be communicated to us, to degrade or elevate, to strengthen or corrupt, as the case may be. Neither for such a purpose is actual visible intercourse needful. The word that has proceeded from a person may pass into me, though he has long ago been gathered to his fathers. If then all

the scattered fragments of good which are about in the world flow from One divine Person, He must be able to hold converse with our minds as easily as we hold converse with each other. The infinity that is an attribute of His Being does not mean extension in space, but the infinite goodness and love, which unceasingly feed and strengthen the souls of men and yet are never exhausted. It is true that we can never know Him as He knows us, but neither can the ordinary mind know, in all their fulness, the mental riches of a Shakespeare or a Milton, nor the mortal eye take in at a single glance the vast expanse of the starry heavens. But not the less, the eye does see them; the mind can hold converse with the mind of Shakespeare or of Milton—why then should the mind of God be alone excluded from the possibility of such intercourse? If then, looking back upon past ages, we find that men everywhere have been more or less conscious of such an intercourse in themselves, have clung to this belief,

Though nature, red in tooth and claw
With ravine, shrieked against their creed ;

if we, in our best moments are aware of a Presence within, passing a voiceless judgment on the secret history of our lives which no mortal eye has ever seen,—for such minds, we say, the arguments of Mr. Maurice will carry an almost irresistible force. And if there be a Being above all, who cares for and watches over the creatures He has made, but sees them under the hard necessity of things falling into the servitude of gods other than Himself,—of sin and evil and misery,—it would not be an infraction, but a vindication of His everlasting order if He came forth from behind the veil to win them back to Himself. “Accordingly,” says Mr. Maurice, “we accept the fact of the Incarnation, because we feel that it is impossible to know the absolute and invisible God as man needs to know Him, and craves to know Him, without an Incarnation. Secondly, we receive the fact of an Incarnation, not perceiving how we can recognise a perfect Son of God, and Son of Man, such as man needs and craves for, unless he were, in all points tempted like us we are. Thirdly, we receive the fact of an Incarnation because we ask of God a redemption, not for a few persons from certain evil tendencies, but for humanity from all the plagues by which it is tormented.” (*Theological Essays.*)

But, it will be objected, and with reason, that the internal need of an incarnation, how great soever it may be, cannot alone establish the fact of one. That event, if it really happened, is an event in history like the battle of Waterloo, or any other remarkable incident; and like them, can be credited only upon sufficient evidence. Hitherto, the sceptic might say, you have asked us to

receive it on the authority of a Book, which you declared to be written under the immediate inspiration of God, and as such miraculously preserved from error. But this authority has crumbled away under pressure like a heap of sand. The Book may still be inspired, supposing the message it contains can be shown to be true; but it is no longer possible to assume the infallibility of the Book, and deduce thence the fact of the Incarnation. What then is your evidence to show; that what you term the Incarnation of Christ is not but one more added to the like delusions to be found in other religions? The answer to this objection is to be found in, and can be gathered fully only from, the whole compass of, Mr. Maurice's theological writings. But it is perhaps possible even in the space at our disposal to indicate briefly his line of thought.

Greek, Roman and Egyptian, Hindú, Persian and Muhamádan,—all these various nations, we find seeking after God, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him. They each bring their quota to the education of the human race. We cannot conceive of any one of these nations or their works being blotted out of memory, without occasioning an irremediable loss to the perfect development of humanity. Only, various as were their religious faiths, they all alike bore within them the seeds of decay and corruption. The original intuition of God's presence did not gain in clearness and grandeur as the years passed by, but degenerated into gross material forms of idolatry which reacted upon the nation to the utter loss of every healthy and progressive quality. But even in their fallen state, these nations continue to bear witness of that inextinguishable craving after the Unseen which haunts humanity. They do so by their superstitions as they once did by their faith. Now it is evident that no amount of evidence which might be brought together respecting the authenticity or the inspiration of their sacred books, could ever set any of these old faiths upon their feet again. They have been tested in the furnace of facts, and have succumbed under the trial.

But there has also been one nation—originally a horde of slaves in Egypt and subsequently settled in Palestine,—who in some mysterious manner became possessed with the belief that the God of the whole universe had selected them to declare His name to the world. They were "never good for much at any time." They were specially addicted to idolatry. They were noted for the ease and rapidity with which they transferred their allegiance from one idol to another. They certainly never acted as if they wished to win the hearts of men to the worship of the One God. And yet this is precisely what they have done in spite of themselves. While every other nation of the old world was worshipping wood and stone, there was a double movement going on in the heart of the

Jewish people. Side by side with the idolatry of kings, priests, and people, sounded the withering scorn and denunciation of the Jewish prophets. The vision of God enlarges continually before their "inner eye." They declare there will be hereafter a perfect unveiling of His mind and character, so soon as the world is prepared to receive it. The fulness of time comes. The son of a Jewish carpenter declares himself to his followers—a few ignorant fishermen—as the Incarnate Son of God, foretold by the Prophets, and is soon after crucified as a malefactor by the Roman Governor; with the consent of the chiefs of the nation, whose Saviour he affirmed himself to be. Here is the whole genesis and origin of Christianity. The most "destructive" of critics will admit that no criticism of manuscripts can shake us here. But it is at this point that the real mystery of Christianity begins. The latent seed of corruption which mingles in all earthly teaching, however true and elevated it may be, is that after a time the teacher himself must go helpless thenceforth to preserve his principles from being warped into error or consigned altogether to oblivion. Many brave men lived before Agamemnon; but their bravery and worth are now as worthless to the world as though they had never existed. In Christianity alone is this evil provided against. Hardly had their Master been buried, when His disciples declared that He had risen and ascended into heaven, and that previous to His Ascension he had bidden them go forth and conquer the world, confident that His Spirit would be with them to guide the world to the truth. Strong in this promise, the disciples—a few ignorant fishermen of Galilee—fear not to enter into conflict with the might of the Roman Empire. They conquer it. They sow far and wide the seeds of that new life whence has emerged that Christendom of the West, so rich in the experience of the past, so full of young and vigorous life. It is idle to speak of this mighty achievement as simply due to some abstract notion of "progress." Why then has it not been universal? why should the East retrograde incessantly into profounder depths of corruption, and the area of progress be limited to the area of Christianity? It is equally fallacious to say that the West has hit upon the law of progress by (what might be termed) a lucky accident. There is no single vice—no persecution, cruelty, bigotry, debauchery—which has sullied the East, whose blood-stained track may not be traced through the annals of the West. If men could have changed the faith of Christ into a lie—if they could have converted His teaching into something synonymous with the anguish and slaughter of mankind, the Romish Church with her fierce theological rancour, her Inquisitions, her open profligacy and infidelity, would assuredly have done so. But the Spirit of Christ (there is no other term that can adequately interpret the phenomena)

has been present all along, amid the clouds and thick darkness to guide the world to the truth. While every other religious faith has lost its hold upon the inner life of its votaries, the divinity and ethics of Christ have taken undisputed possession of the West. Purity in mind and act, truthfulness in word and thought, the feeling of an universal brotherhood, the innate dignity of humanity, however short of these things Christians may fall in their practice, there is no debate that these ought to be the governing principles of conduct. At this present moment, there is no one who is capable of instituting a comparison, but must admit that the highest theology of the day has a far wider and profounder apprehension of the scope of Christ's work, than that of any preceding time. All this is readily explicable if we accept Christ's account of Himself, if we believe that He is the Light who lighteth every man, and that His Spirit, as He said it would, has been convincing the world, in spite of itself, of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment. Except on this supposition, it is impossible, it seems to us, to conjecture a reason why the West has not sunk into the stagnant condition of the East.

The problem we must bear in mind is one far more intricate and mysterious than to account for the general movement of an age towards more humane ways of life. It is to account for a new formative spiritual power working in the inner life of the individual. The ethics of Christ, supposing him to be simply a great moral teacher, or even if we advance a step further and concede to him the power of working miracles, could not have effected that sudden transformation in the minds of the Apostles which took place *after* his death; could not have brought about that deepening and enlargement of spiritual life, which in the worst days of the Roman Empire produced the literature of the New Testament; or that sense of the abiding impurity and hatefulness of sin which has grown with the growth of Christianity. These changes require, to explain them, the supposition of some living Power constantly present and at work upon the conscience and reason of the individual. It cannot be a Power natural to man as such, because in that case it would operate uniformly throughout the world. Retrogression either for the nation or the individual would be morally impossible. What then can this power be? The Christian replies, "This is that Spirit of Truth promised by Christ to guide the world into all truth."

An argument thus baldly and feebly set forth conveys necessarily none of that cumulative power of conviction which it acquires from the vast knowledge, the insight into the secret life of history, the psychological subtlety, and the burning eloquence of a profound personal conviction, which mark and give their peculiar character to the writings of Mr. Maurice. But our wish is to

give only an outline of the line of thought. The details could be filled in by no other hand than that of the master himself. But it will, we think, be seen even in our statement, that when "criticism" has done its best or its worst upon the books of the Bible, not a single position taken up by Mr. Maurice can be shaken or even slightly weakened. He moves along a line which lies altogether outside of such researches. He makes his reader apprehend Christ as the Light of the World, by revealing Him as the Light of his own heart. He converted the "Third Person of the Trinity" from a dogma, embedded fossil-like in books of controversial divinity, into a living Being whose path we can trace in a line of light across all the preceding centuries. And thus the doctrine of the Trinity becomes, literally, an unveiling of the nature of God.

And herein, we may add, is to be found the secret of that obscurity which is so often charged against Mr. Maurice. Every experience that comes to men in any way whatsoever, must be embodied in a proposition before it can be communicated to others. But so long as the experience itself is keen and living, the words which express it seem to partake of a portion of its life. Their simple sound by the power of association kindles in the mind of the hearer the exact image of the emotion described. This has long ceased to be the case in Theology. When Paul spoke of men as justified by faith, as sanctified by the power of the Holy Spirit, as reconciled to God by the death of His Son, he was not careful to define these terms. They were expressions of spiritual realities, of which both he and his hearers were vividly conscious at every moment of their lives. They knew themselves to be justified, *i.e.*, *made righteous* by their new-born trust in a righteous God; they knew that this new-born sense of the sinfulness of sin was occasioned by the purifying presence of a Holy Spirit within them. They no more wanted a definition of such phrases than a man would require definitions ore he understood that fire was hot and ice was cold. But in after years, the consciousness of these vital changes had passed away. The phraseology alone remained, and this was drawn out into long divinity propositions (*e.g.*, the Thirty-nine Articles), which appeared not to have the remotest connection with the daily life of men. It degenerated into a sort of official language destitute of any meaning, as when we sign ourselves "I have the honour to be," not meaning that we are in the enjoyment of any honour at all. But to Mr. Maurice the old Biblical language was still instinct with all its first truth and power. It was the truest expression of the mighty warfare of good and evil that was carried on within him. He strives, as it were, to re-stamp it with the old image and superscription. This language, he says, was not accidental, or lightly chosen. It came from the lips of men, who had the most

momentous message ever entrusted to mortal men, to communicate to their fellows. The facts of which they spake are still, and must be for ever, about our lives, and working in our hearts; and no language is so fitted to express them as that which they originally inspired. But the effect at first is startling and perplexing in the extreme. "Progress" is a familiar term enough, and startles no one; but when the general is turned into the particular, and the advance in science, in learning, and humanity, is declared to be "the power of the Spirit of Truth leading the world into truth," people start in bewilderment, and declare the speaker mystical and unintelligible. They not unfrequently denounce him as a wolf in sheep's clothing, who under the veil of liberality is seeking to bind them once more in the theological delusions they have cast aside. This very charge we have heard repeatedly urged against Mr. Maurice,—a writer who, more than any other we are acquainted with, worked out his conclusions by methods rigorously scientific.

But we must hasten on. It is not possible in our limited space to even touch upon the characteristics of Mr. Maurice as philosopher and moral teacher; but there is one doctrine connected with his name on which we would say a few words before concluding—his doctrine of universal redemption. We have already touched upon the moral difficulty involved in the ordinary view of the Atonement whether taught by High Churchmen or Low. No ingenious sophistry can do anything to get rid of it. It is this. We are asked to believe that a perfectly loving God could not refrain from destroying, body and soul, the creatures he had made, except by the death of His Son, who took upon Himself the wrath of God which ought by right to have descended upon us. This is the first difficulty, or rather the first three or four difficulties. For it is impossible to understand how a Being of infinite love could be filled with such an infinite wrath, and yet retain His love; and it is still harder to conceive that this wrath should be appeased by the death of some one who had not in any way offended Him. But this is not all. Christ, as we have already said, dies to appease the wrath of His Father, and yet that wrath continues to burn as fiercely as ever. There is, it is true, a city of refuge here and there, or what its denizens declare to be such,—but what are they among so many? Not to mention that the inhabitants of one city are by no means certain that any other is safe. What amid this tumult of voices is the refugee to do who has not yet found a place of shelter? These notions of redemption, according to Mr. Maurice, are precisely those of the heathen. This kind of Saviour is but a repetition of "some Prometheus who shall steal the fire that is to hinder human creatures from being utterly at the mercy of the Tyrant." "Such redemptions," he goes on to say, "every mythology is full of in proportion to the experiences

which there were of human misery in the land that produced it. There must be some friendly demon, some co-operator with the poor victims of mortal oppression or of Death, the common oppressor—one who shall at least alleviate the wretchedness of some district or family or time if he cannot remove it." It was to destroy these notions once for all, that the Word was made flesh—to reveal an Eternal Father, who hated nothing that He has made, in place of the Moloch whom men had imagined to be seated behind the clouds. To suppose that this Father would sit quietly by, while His children writhed in the everlasting anguish of sin was to deny His Fatherhood,—to declare that Christ had established the worship of that very Deity which He came to extirpate. Good or evil—one of these two Powers must be the stronger. The question might be an open one to those who had not received Christianity, but it never ought to be to those who had. For, "not a part of the message of the kingdom of Heaven, but every part of it, concerns the struggle of the Son of Man with the Accuser, the Tempter, the Destroyer; concerns the deliverance of men from the physical and moral slavery which he has brought into God's universe. Everywhere the Son of Man is defying his claim to rule; everywhere He is asserting the creation to be the Creator's."

There was a profound solemnity, a depth of reverence in the manner of Mr. Maurice, whenever in his sermons he approached this awful subject, and spoke of the unfathomable deep of the Divine Love. He affected none of the arts of the orator in his preaching; only his eye—so full of spiritual meaning—seemed, as it were, fixed and fascinated by some distant object, and the tone of his voice was as that of a man speaking in the very presence of God, and declaring the things that he saw. We remember, in particular, one discourse of his on the parable of the rich man and the poor. He spoke of the wonderful change which after death came over the mind of the rich man—in that he who had been utterly selfish on this earth, had been brought, by the discipline of punishment, to look beyond himself, to remember his brethren and to care for them. "He who began to cry earnestly that those whom he had left behind him might not come into that place of torment, might still have a gulf separating him from Abraham. But that gulf must have been beginning to close up; he was nearer in heart and mind to Abraham than he had ever been in the days when he was receiving his good things"—then in a voice faltering with intense earnestness, but the solemn music of which will never cease to vibrate in the memory, he added,—"It is not, my friends, by quenching this hope for any individual man, or for any fallen nation, that we shall make ourselves purer; or shall deepen the awe of our minds. We may believe,

we ought to believe, that punishment is inseparable from evil, that God will never withhold His punishment while evil lasts. Israel cannot be saved till it is saved from its distrust and hatred of God. When St. Paul says 'all Israel shall be saved,' he expresses his conviction that it will one day be brought to own that the perfect friend of man is the true image of God. The assurance that its disobedience will be at last overcome, cannot make it safe for the Christian Church to imitate the sin of Israel, and so to come into its torments. The trust that no sin, no selfishness, shall at last be found stronger than the divine love, cannot lead any man to cultivate that which is to be vanquished, or defy that which must prevail. Despair is the Devil's instrument, not God's; He is the God of Hope.*

The great teacher and prophet has now gone to his rest—"His earthly mission richly wrought—leaving great legacies of thought." But looking back across those years of unwearying Christian labour, it awakens strange thoughts to remember that this man—one of the purest and most exalted souls that ever walked God's earth—whose frail tenement of clay was literally consumed by his inextinguishable zeal for God's House and God's Honour—whose every hope for himself and all mankind was bound up in the faith once delivered to the saints—who brought home the knowledge and the love of Christ to so many bewildered creatures gone astray in the valley of the shadow of death—was branded all through life with every opprobrious epithet which the rancour of orthodoxy could invent—was stigmatised as an infidel, a blasphemer, a Socinian, a materialist, and—even an atheist. It is, however, pleasanter to remember that when the good fight had been fought to the end, and Christ's faithful soldier and servant had assumed the crown of righteousness laid up for him, the tumult of detraction was hushed in silence over his grave. All alike seemed to have felt that a great and good man had passed away, leaving the world far poorer. His last moments are very beautiful to remember. "On that early Easter morning" (ye are quoting Dean Stanley's sermon), "when the end drew near"

* There are a number of texts which are generally supposed to establish the opposite doctrine, beyond reach of cavil. The student of Mr. Maurice's writings will find that he evades none of these; and we have no hesitation in saying that the interpretation he attaches to them must force itself on the mind of any unprejudiced inquirer as the only possible one—as one moreover which imparts to them a depth and spirituality which are wholly wanting to the meaning they

are generally supposed to convey. His writings incidentally touch upon this belief again and again, as he comes across some text which has been supposed to enforce the reverse; but the formal discussion of the whole question will be found in the *Theological Essays*, and his *Letter to the Bishop of London*. There is a good deal on the same subject in the *Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven* (Preface and Lecture XX), and the *Unity of the New Testament*.

out of the extremity of bodily weakness, out of the darkness of death, he gathered himself up, and pronounced calmly, distinctly, and with the slight variation which was necessary to include himself as well as others within its range, the solemn benediction with which the Church of England at the close of its most solemn services gives its peace, not as the world giveth—the benediction which had been endeared to him through the long years of his faithful ministrations, every word of which was to him instinct with a peculiar life of its own, a peculiar reflex of his own profoundest feelings, “The peace of God which passeth all understanding keep our hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord ; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst us, and remain with us always.”

R. D. O.

ART. VIII.—THE INDIAN RINDERPEST.

Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the origin, nature, &c., of Indian Cattle Plagues—with Appendices. 1871.

ON what principle do general readers in India, who interest themselves in public affairs, assess the relative value of the various subjects which are from time to time brought under their notice? Do they enjoy a great, impalpable, and unerring instinct in the matter—analogueous to that by which the conductors of the *Times* suit themselves to the ebb and flow of public opinion at home?—or is it a deep critical sense, which guides both to what is of importance, and from what is of none? Or is it simple chance?—or mere personal fancy? We cannot tell; we can only say, that very frequently it is now as in ancient times—‘the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong;’ solid labour for the general and present good is often disregarded, and its record is unread, while every journalist vies with his brethren in reproducing and criticising any pleasing translation of ancient Hindú fable.

These remarks have been naturally suggested to us by observing the almost total neglect which the learned and copious labours of the Cattle Plague Commission have met with at the hands of the Indian Press. We are well aware that a notice of the “Report” as published, has been given by most of the Indian journals; but these, as a rule, have gone no deeper into the matter than an entry in a catalogue might be expected to go, and prove only one thing with perfect clearness, that those who wrote the notices—one and all—knew little or nothing of the subject of cattle plague when they took up the report, and failed from such perusal as they gave that report, to cull from it any fact which could be of service in instructing the general public. Some even have contented themselves with describing mainly the outside of the book, making silly little jokes based on its weight and size.

And yet we feel certain that no argument is necessary in support of our position that the subject of cattle plague in this country is one of vast importance, and that the record made by the Cattle Plague Commission deserves an attentive and exhaustive study. England is more a commercial than an agricultural country, yet we all know how energetic was the action both of the legislature and of the executive when its herds were touched by the rinderpest. We also know that eventually the rinderpest disappeared as the consequence of this energetic action. India, on the other hand, or at least Lower Bengal, is

almost exclusively an agricultural country, where horned cattle are used in nearly all the operations of the farm. Much money we are spending in hopes of being able to avert from the cultivators the hardships caused by droughts or inundations; but an earlier and more pressing necessity seems to be the devising of some means by which to prevent the destruction of cattle by murrain. For dearth of water seed may never grow, but in the dearth of cattle it will not be sown. It is strange, therefore, to find a generation, which has so wakened up to the necessity of irrigation, standing actually still in the presence of rinderpest with no practical device to check it, and no great or real interest in the whole question. More surprising still do this want of interest and this want of resource appear, when we find that for thirty years past the subject has been periodically reported on, and the labours of the recent Commission have both summarised the results of all previous labours in the same field of research, and have demonstrated with great clearness and originality both the nature of the disease with which we have to deal, and the means by which we can most effectually combat it.

Turning for a moment to the earlier enquiries made into the nature of this dread murrain of beasts, we find that in the year 1844, Dr. Duncan Stewart, then Superintendent-General of Vaccination at this Presidency, was the first—as far as our knowledge enables us to speak—to bring into prominent notice the fact that there prevails in India an infectious disease among cattle by which immense numbers perish in the course of every year.

For fifteen long years did Dr. Stewart search after that disease of the cow from which Jenner first obtained the material with which he initiated the practice of vaccination. His object was to be able to renew at will from the cow of this country an active supply of vaccine, which in his day it was difficult to obtain in a fresh state from England. In this endeavour, however, he failed. But in the course of his enquiries, he was brought into frequent contact with a disease in the cow, attended sometimes with an eruption, and hence called by the natives “matta.”

By experiment he soon satisfied himself that this was not the equivalent in the cow of “matta” (small-pox) in man; but still prosecuted his enquiries far and wide, led on in this further investigation by the vast importance which the subject assumed, as bearing on the dire scourge of cattle disease. In the year 1844 he embodied the result of his researches in a “Report on Small-pox in Calcutta and Vaccination in Lower Bengal.” The Government was thus placed in possession of the important fact that a contagious disease annually caused an enormous mortality among the cattle of this country—a country in which draught and milch cattle form the main support of nine-tenths of the community.

This being so, it is a matter of regret to note how little importance the Government of the day attached to the interesting report furnished by Dr. Stewart. For twenty long years no action whatever appears to have been taken regarding the cattle disease; but in 1854 the matter was again brought prominently before Government, by the Secretary to the Agricultural Society, Mr. A. H. Blechynden, by Mr. John Stalkartt, whose interest in all agricultural matters is well known, and by Mr. R. Rutherford, V.S. The outbreak of a fatal epizootic which attacked the cattle which were brought together for the Agricultural Exhibition held in January 1864 at Alipore, was the immediate occasion of the matter being brought forward; and it may be remarked that the matter could hardly have been brought more closely home to Government, as the affected cattle died in an enclosure, which, at the time, might have been termed without exaggeration the Government Home Park. Dr. C. Palmer was asked to report on this subject, and in 1865 he stated his belief that the epizootic was genuine rinderpest. Here the matter might have rested for another twenty years, but for the accidents of English herds being ravaged by the same disease immediately after,—public attention being therefore forcibly directed towards the solution of the problem, whether it was the duty of a Government to allow cattle to die by the thousand when it was within their power to apply measures which would serve materially to diminish the mortality and heavy pecuniary loss attending that mortality. England's loss has been India's gain on this as on many other occasions. Much information on the subject was, under the orders of Government, collected by district officers, and by Commissioners of Division. When it was as complete as the circumstances of the case admitted, the papers were transferred for analysis and report to the Civil Surgeon of Jessor. Dr. McLeod's Report on the Cattle Disease of Lower Bengal marks an era in the history of rinderpest. It was published in the Supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette* on the 11th March, 1868, and extends over fifty pages. It was a marvel of completeness at the time at which it was written; and considering that the author, at the time at which he undertook its compilation, probably knew as little about the diseases of cattle as he did about necromancy, the wonder is he made so few mistakes as he did. There are, however, speculations in it more ingenious than sound; and if the author ever has a leisure hour in which to look back on the views he then published, we feel sure that he will agree with us in holding that many of these views must be abandoned when exposed to the light which more recent researches have thrown on the subject. After the publication of this report many outbreaks of cattle plague were brought to notice in different quarters; and on the 29th of November, 1859, the Governor-General in

Council appointed a Commission to enquire into the whole subject of the diseases which prevail, and the best method of dealing with them. The title of the report published by this Commission we have placed at the head of our article, inasmuch as it combines the information conveyed by earlier reports with much that is new and valuable of its own. Before proceeding to indicate the scope of this report, it may perhaps be right to mention here that the above sketch only attempts to show in outline how the matter of destructive murrains among cattle has been pressed on the attention of Government. The Cattle Plague Commissioners have brought out very distinctly that before Dr. Stewart's report was published, various officials and others not connected with the service of Government knew of the existence of diseases destructive to cattle. The natives of the country apply to the most common of these diseases the same names that they make use of when speaking of small-pox in man, although the two diseases have little or nothing of an essential nature in common.

A considerable amount of information on the subject seems to have been obtained in reply to a circular issued by the Medical Board on the 4th of June 1831. This circular had for its object the instigation to a search after the variola vaccinae of Jenner in a systematic manner. It brought to light only the disease regarded by the natives as small-pox in the cow; which even at this early date was almost conclusively recognised as something of a very different nature from the vaccine disease. A curious circumstance was reported in 1832 which tended in no small measure to complicate matters and retard a satisfactory conclusion being arrived at. The Civil Surgeon of Murshidabad in that year succeeded in obtaining successful results in vaccinating a child, as he believed, from a cow with *basanto* or small-pox. What actually happened no one will ever know; but this much at least is certain, that *basanto* in the cow did not cause vaccine in the child. Whether the Civil Surgeon was, fortunate enough to discover the true variola vaccinae, which he mistook for *basanto*, or whether he was the dupe of the trickery of some vaccinator, will for ever remain unknown. One suspicious element in the case is the fact that the cow concerned belonged to the vaccinator, while next year with cows which had *basanto*, but were not the property of the vaccinators, all the experiments failed. The success in 1831 in Murshidabad led to similar experiments elsewhere in 1833; when a Civil Surgeon inoculated four children unsuccessfully, and during his absence from the station another surgeon carried on the enquiry. Four children whom the latter believed to have been vaccinated direct from the cow, were secured. From these four children, other native children were operated on. In all of

these success was obtained ; and then three children of Europeans were operated on as well as some native children. All the three had an attack of small-pox in a bad form, and one of them died. Here too we are kept in doubt what was the true solution of what was recorded. A vaccinator having surreptitiously inoculated the four children, on whom the lymph had effect with true small-pox, after they had been operated on with the virus of cattle plague, would offer a ready explanation, but all evidence is denied us on this point. The calamitous results of this experiment produced a profound impression on medical men in India, and put a complete stop to further inoculations being practised. In 1836, Dr. Lamb, the Civil Surgeon, sent a very important communication to the Superintending Surgeon describing cattle plague as he saw it in Dacca, where the year before about a thousand deaths had been caused by it. The Medical Board seems to have failed in appreciating the true value of all these reports bringing to light the existence of rinderpest, but were satisfied that they could not obtain their supply of vaccine from the cow in India. It is on this account that we have given such a prominent place to Dr. Duncan Stewart's memoir on the subject, as he so prominently brought the matter to the notice of Government as worthy on its own account to deserve their attention, apart from all considerations regarding the source from which a supply of vaccine might be obtained.

In the same year that Dr. Lamb wrote, Mr. H. Piddington, the author of the *Law of Storms*, published his observations on rinderpest in the Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society. His own cattle had been attacked on several occasions during the short period of seven or eight years, and he stated his confidence in the efficacy of fumigation with muriatic acid.

To complete the above cursory sketch of the glimpses at cattle plague obtainable before the Report of the Commissioners was written, we may here adduce also from their Report that they obtained the evidence of the Munsif of Dibrugarh, to the effect that he remembered having heard his father mention that cattle plague occurred in 1797 in the district of Sibságar. They also ascertained the fact from the oral testimony of many that cattle plague prevailed in Assam before the British occupation (1824). They also quote from Mr. Farrell's report that he had met with an old Gossain who read from a book in the Assamese character, that in 1818 this disease attacked the cattle of the Burmese army of invasion, and spread from it to the cattle of the country, committing great havoc. Dr. Duncan Stewart's information from Mr. Blacquiere is also referred to, that about the year 1795-96, a murrain prevailed among the cattle in and near Calcutta.

The volume opens with a general report by the Commissioners,

extending over thirty pages. This portion of their work has been done with great care, and is of extreme value, as it embodies within readable limits the results of the entire enquiry. In it, after some introductory paragraphs explanatory of the objects the Commission had in view, the mode of enquiry they adopted, the arrangement they intended to follow in the report, and other kindred topics, they boldly take up in a separate section the conditions affecting the prevalence of murrains. On this subject they state that there is no evidence to show that cattle disease may not make its appearance at any place, whatever its geology, soil, altitude, or other physical condition. They do not believe that the disease is born of the soil, they look on it as being epizootic and not enzootic; and hold that there is nothing in the geology or topography or atmospheric influences of India to render these diseases inevitable or ineradicable. As a consequence of these beliefs, the Commissioners hold that there is good hope of being able by repressive measures to limit and restrain the devastations of the Indian rinderpest. In support of their view they instance the effect of isolated positions in preventing the influx of the disease. They tell us, for example, it is never of spontaneous origin in islands; all cases of murrain occurring in an island being clearly traceable to importation. The physical obstacles afforded by hills to the cattle being associated together also is made to give valuable evidence in the same direction; as when rinderpest does break out in any hilly tract, there is never any suspicion of its spontaneous origin; its importation can always be traced. The action of large rivers in presenting barriers to the spread of the disease, and the importance of guarding ferries, are also brought prominently forward.

The conditions favourable to the spread of this plague among cattle are briefly alluded to. The influence of roads in furnishing a conduit by which the disease may flow; an increasing civilisation by clearing jungle, extending agriculture, opening out communications, and promoting the buying and selling of stock, are all enumerated as requiring counter measures to check the murrain from spreading over the country.

The Commissioners do not face the difficult task of pointing out what is to be done to prevent and limit the propagation of cattle plague from those nurseries of contagious diseases which luxuriant pasture lands furnish. Stock from all sides are here drawn together towards a centre, where they can freely congregate, and give and take every communicable disease without restraint, carrying contagion back with them to their respective villages. They believe that this problem "must be worked out locally, as while the general practice and its tendencies and dangers are similar, there are local circumstances and variations which must govern the thought and action to be taken."

Even under apparently more favourable circumstances, facilities for the ready spread of cattle disease are not wanting ; as when an estimate of stock to area would show a low figure, and an apparently unfavourable condition for the spread of disease, the universal practice of herding and of crowding cattle densely together, enables any contagion which may once be brought among them to be freely disseminated.

The complete absence of any system of fencing in India constitutes a fertile source of mischief, as it permits the affected cattle of one owner to convey the disease to the stock of his neighbours. Many conditions favourable to the spread of rinderpest in India are brought to notice, but the reporters hesitate to suggest measures to meet the difficulty ; as these facilities, they say, must be studied locally in elaborate detail, before the question of local remedial measures can be decided on.

There seems to be reason for believing that the hide trade may assist in spreading contagion by diseased hides in transit. Soaking the hides in salt, or lime and water, renders them innocuous, and this is a plan which should be adopted whenever it can be put into force at the place where an animal dies.

In Section 3, the diseases of stock are treated of. We find that—

- 1st. Rinderpest,
- 2nd. Foot and mouth disease,
- 3rd. Hoven,
- 4th. Quarter-ill,
- 5th. Pleuro-pneumonia,
- 6th. Bhooknee or purging,
- 7th. Cystic disease,

8th. Throat swelling, are the diseases which may be looked on as the most important. Conditions of the foot and mouth leading to ulcers in both situations, which prevent the animals from moving about easily or eating, characterise the disease placed second on the list. This affection passes readily from animal to animal, but one attack does not secure immunity from a second. The disease is seldom fatal unless neglected ; and cleanliness, disinfection, and simple precautions are all that are necessary in dealing with it.

Hoven consists of over-distention of the rumen (first stomach) ; and is usually caused by a surfeit on the young vegetation which the first shower after drought brings up. As it affects many cattle simultaneously, it may almost appear to be epizootic. In the absence of skilled agents to perform the simple operation of tapping the rumen, the disease is thought to be incurable.

We are not told what quarter-ill is ; but its being a widespread disease which destroys cattle largely, is made use of as an argument

to urge "the spread of sound views regarding the sanitary and medical treatment of stock throughout rural India."

Pleuro-pneumonia (inflammation of the lungs and their surrounding membranes), though existing in India and at times prevailing extensively in the Panjáb, does not destroy so many cattle as rinderpest or bhooknee. Isolated cases of the disease are often met with; and even when it attacks considerable numbers at one time, its contagiousness in India is not so well established as it is in other countries.

The disease termed by the natives *bhukni* consists of a form of diarrhoea, with great emaciation. It seems to confine itself to the districts of Gujranwala and Jhang; and to be caused by the use of improper food and water.

Cystic disease consists in the flesh of the animal being infested by bladders which are the larval stage of tape worms. The common tape worm which inhabits man in India is the *toenia mediocanellata*. The extreme prevalence of this parasite among Europeans in the Panjáb is caused by the consumption of beef containing the cyst, which grows into the worm. The Commission, while bringing together various papers on this subject, do not seem to have added much to our previous information.

Throat swelling seems to be regarded by the reporters as a symptom only of other diseases, and not as a separate ailment. As they had not seen any instance of it, their surmise is necessarily vague and indecisive.

After brief observations on the foregoing diseases, the subject of rinderpest is treated of separately in the fourth section of the report.

Though Gilchrist in 1848, C. Palmer in 1864, and all subsequent observers had identified the great Indian scourge of cattle with the rinderpest of Europe, it is satisfactory to find that the Commission, agreeing with these authorities, declare that the steppe murrain of Russia and the *basanto* which carries off annually so many thousand head of cattle in India, are one and the same disease. On this point there cannot be any longer any reasonable doubt; and we glance with disfavour over an ambiguous paragraph headed "the only certain test of identity." Here the inoculation of cattle in England from material derived from Indian cattle plague, is spoken of as a crucial test. It is true that the reporters do not advise such a test to be employed, and only bring it forward almost apologetically as "incumbent on those who do not accept our conclusions * * * * to adopt as the only means by which any doubt may be for ever removed." In spite of the Commissioners' attempts to guard themselves from being misunderstood, we confess to disappointment at the smack of uncertainty suggested by the use of the words "only certain," "crucial."

cial test," an uncertainty moreover which did not exist in the minds of the writers, and which we trust no one will ever attempt to set at rest by inoculating the cattle of England with virus drawn from diseased Indian animals. The work of the Commissioners has been well done; proofs abound everywhere, which are as crucial and as certain as any inoculation practised in England could possibly be; and we object to their giving any grounds for drawing the unfair deduction that till such a *crucial test* is applied, some measure of doubt must still remain. We do not wish to deny that it might satisfy the self-assertion of some veterinary practitioner in England, to be able to go over the same ground as that already traversed in India, by obtaining the cattle plague poison from India, and after producing the disease, satisfying himself of its identity with rinderpest. Nor do we wish to deny that such a person might be found roundly affirming that nothing but the evidence afforded by the use of his own eyes would satisfy him; but what we do deny is that the test applied by such a person would be a whit more crucial or more certain than the tests which have been applied in India.

We consider the question of the identity of English and Indian rinderpest as finally settled, and wish that the Commissioners had refrained from casting doubt on their own conclusions, even in the guarded language used by them on the occasion.

What is this disease then of which cattle die in such numbers? The answer to this question has to be searched for over many pages scattered over numerous portions of the report. It seems to be a low fever, complicated with a particular form of dysentery.

We are told that an animal may be labouring under the disease for several days (4—10) before it shows any symptoms of being ill. This the Commissioners call the stage of incubation; and during it, the heat of the body rapidly increases, as may be ascertained by the aid of a thermometer. The next or premonitory stage may last from two to four days, and is characterized by the affected animal showing great languor. It is seen separating itself from other cattle, drooping its head and omitting to chew the cud. Its coat stares, and the mucous membranes which can be seen are found to be congested. The third stage extends over two to five days; and is marked by high fever, a greenish diarrhoea, small blisters in the mouth, and at times an eruption on the skin.

During the fourth stage, the animal appears quite prostrated and becomes cold; blood and slime are passed from the bowels with straining. The blisters in the mouth now contain matter, and many of them bursting cause sores on the gums, tongue, and other parts of the mouth. "The symptoms increase to the eighth or ninth day, when the crisis is observed." The anima

now dies ; or if it recovers, the heat gradually returns to the body, it begins to eat, improvement taking place slowly, till in from fifteen to twenty days the animal is well.

Post mortem examinations were frequently performed under the superintendence of Mr. Hallen, V.S., the able President of the Commission ; and the disease is found in nearly all cases to have left its marks almost exclusively on the mucous membranes throughout the whole of the animal's body. But while the first two stomachs were little affected, the last two were almost invariably the seat of well-marked morbid changes. The folds of the third stomach were often found perforated by ulcers ; while congestions, extravasations of blood, and ulcers were found so uniformly in the fourth stomach as to lead to the belief that this was the chief seat of the disease.

The reporters know of no specific treatment. They recommend saline laxatives, followed by astringents and stimulants ; rice or pease gruel as food, and a sparing allowance of water. Under this treatment they believe that 20 per cent. of cattle that would otherwise die may be saved.

Having thus endeavoured to give our readers a general but accurate idea of what Indian cattle plague really is, and mentioned the curative treatment on which the Commission chiefly relies, we must now glance at the subject of prevention, which is acknowledged to be of vastly greater importance than cure. It is treated of at great length in many parts of the report. In particular Dr. Kenneth McLeod's valuable paper is reprinted *in extenso*. General principles are everywhere laid down, and precautions pointed out ; while the questions of applying measures to the case of particular localities is properly left undefined, with the view of special enquiry into local circumstances, local customs, and local arrangements being made before any steps are taken to enforce the necessary preventive measures. That the disease is contagious, and may be imported from an infected locality, admits of no doubt. All the natives seem clearly to recognise this fact : and the report furnishes numerous illustrations of its truth. Examples of what the natives of the country had already done to save themselves from the loss of cattle by removing them when sources of contamination were near, are also brought forward. Such cases seem to be rare exceptions, as the natives of the country seldom act on the knowledge of this subject which they possess. When acting under professional advice, on many occasions village cattle have been isolated by their owners with the most successful results. It seems reasonable to hope that, as such examples of immunity from the disease by isolation become better known throughout the country at large, the question of legislation on the subject of cattle plague may at last

be solved ; for when a very general belief exists in the advantages to be gained by following simple rules, the intelligent minority will, it is hoped, gladly avail themselves of the benefits which they know to be within their grasp, and an ignorant or fatalistic majority will gradually be educated by the greater enlightenment of the intelligent few. The people of this country are as gregarious as their herds ; and if the headman of a village be gained over to the side of prudent treatment,—whether for the prevention or the cure of cattle disease,—the whole village community will follow in his steps. That there is abundance of intelligence among the headmen of our villages we have good reason to know ; and if the enforcement of any legislative provisions be preceded by gaining these men to our side, we say, with confidence, that the victory is gained, and cattle plague may be rooted out of this country in the same degree, if not in the same manner, as it was rooted out at home.

The remarks of the Member of the Civil Service who served on the Commission are very apposite. He says—"I desire to place on record my conviction that any legislation having for its object the repression and prevention of cattle murrain, should be introduced with great caution ; and I believe it to be doubtful whether much good would result from a very strict law on the subject, until the people have been trained to see the necessity for it. The civil authorities with whom as a member of the Commission I had occasion to converse, as well as many native gentlemen, declared themselves opposed to all complicated legislation with reference to cattle murrains, partly on the ground that it would be resented by the people, and partly because, from want of adequate supervision, it would be inoperative in the present condition of the country."

An immense amount of valuable information on this subject has been collected in Appendix No. V., which extends over some seventy pages of the report, and is entitled, "Papers regarding the Sanitary Treatment of Epizootics, and special legislation." The measures which have to be enforced when a murrain becomes general, must necessarily prove very irksome to all the inhabitants of any infected district who possess cattle.

Any system of arrangements which has for its aim the stamping out of cattle plague when once it has made head over a considerable tract of country, entails an extravagant outlay of money. Again, when a murrain has once been allowed to spread, the mere force of numbers comes to present an almost insuperable difficulty ; and the best measures begin to prove inoperative simply from the impossibility of finding an adequate number of agents to enforce their requirements. It is to care and attention when the plague begins on which reliance must chiefly be placed ; and the Commissioners have done well in bringing forward, as the first

requirement of any law, "the duty of giving early notice." They also enumerate a great variety of agencies through whom this early information may be obtained—as village headmen, special agency, pound-keepers, the police, pancháyats, zamíndárs, &c. &c. No single definite proposition is made, because the committee leave the special arrangements of each locality to be decided by local peculiarities. But to us it appears that on this point at least one universal rule might be laid down, and the owner of the diseased animal made the person primarily responsible for notifying to the executive the appearance of disease among his cattle. The owner is always present, and always must obtain the earliest notice of disease among his own kind; and if there were no other reasons for making him responsible for prompt report to the authorities, we think these two are sufficient. It may come to be a question to whom the owner is to report, and after the report is made through how many agents it must pass before it arrives at the Magistrate; but it should never for one moment be attempted to take the responsibility of setting the requisite machinery in motion off the owner, and fix it on any other person. In proportion as this first principle is stringently enforced or relaxed, will success or failure in dealing with the matter depend. The duty of giving early notice is a cardinal requirement. Limit the mischief to the first few cases which appear, and the epizootic ceases. If once this single fact is recognised, and a place of importance is accorded to it such as its intrinsic value demands, an immense step is made towards simplifying not only the legislative requirements, but all the machinery which becomes necessary for successfully carrying out the law.

Make it stringently imperative on the owners of sick cows to make it known that his stock is dying; let any breach of duty on this point be visited with heavy penalties, regarding the severity of which there can be no question; for the rest, let the law be as lenient as the circumstances of the case permit, but on this point no sentiment of false humanity or misplaced sympathy with an uneducated agricultural population must be permitted to stand in the way of the law being made stringent in the highest degree. The owner of a plague-stricken ox may become the means of death to thousands of cattle belonging to his neighbours. Let him know that by not giving notice, public danger is incurred; and having once told him of the direct consequences of inaction on his part in neglecting to give notice, show him no mercy if he neglect to give the proper information to the proper authorities—treat him as a malefactor—visit him with the same penalties as we already visit those who by poison or maiming cause destruction to the cattle of the country. Mercy to one individual in such a case means cruelty to the rest of the population of his district;

widespread far-searching cruelty such as it would be difficult to enhance, either in kind or in degree.

The next requirement which must be provided for, is stated to be prompt segregation. Here the reporters very properly place the responsibility on the owners. How the sick are to be isolated and the healthy to be segregated is, they say, a problem not easy to solve. They incline to the belief that special "village arrangements," as distinct from private arrangements by the owners, are preferable. In this we think they are in error. If we are shut up to one or other alternative, we would have little hesitation in adopting the one of the sick cattle isolated on the premises of their owners. But we think that we are not shut up to the necessity of limiting ourselves to the one or other branch of the alternative suggested by the report. There seems to be no sufficient reason why the law should not recognise both alternatives, and also include half-a-dozen other plans as well. It is to a hard and fast line that we object; we do not know enough of the people to be able to draw such a line with safety. Perhaps we ought rather to say that on the contrary we know so much, as to be certain that the feelings not only of people in different districts, but of individuals in the same village, vary so considerably that any single arrangement we could make, would prove intolerable to large numbers of them. We believe also that with a variety of suitable plans at command, we could accomplish as much as could be accomplished by one or two stringent expedients; while the measures enforced by a flexible and many-sided law would be resented by very few indeed of those affected by it. The local prejudices must be carefully studied, and the views of the people fully understood, before any of the alternatives sanctioned by law could be selected as the most fitted for any special occasion or particular locality. The people, moreover, must be educated to see that the measure is entirely for their good; and then as a rule not only may we expect to see opposition become less and less, but we may also in due course of time, look for the hearty co-operation of the people in our endeavours to do them good. It need not take long to make at least a beginning of this education. Those who can read may be taught by means of notices or pamphlets, while there is no murrain impending. When the plague has broken out, an intelligent agent will often find little difficulty in explaining to the people what is necessary in the emergency, and in overcoming ignorant opposition. That this cannot always be done, and that on occasion we must be prepared to deal with opposition, need not scare us from making an attempt to legislate. A permissive law need not be put in force when the executive considers that it would prove oppressive, because it would raise the angry feelings of large numbers in some

special community and bring them into open collision with the authorities ; and in many cases the mere knowledge of the fact that the law could be applied would make right-thinking people readily acquiesce in any arrangements that might be thought necessary for their good. That the people of India as a rule would respect any law, which they recognised as being for their good, and which was applied with reasonable regard to their own wishes, admits of no doubt.

All that the law can reasonably require of either the individual or the community after disease has been reported, is that diseased animals shall be so dealt with that the contagion shall not be allowed to be conveyed to others. Doubtless many owners will prefer to keep charge of their own sick stock ; and so long as they are willing and able to adopt precautions which satisfy the requirements of a skilled local agent, the less interference on our part with the carrying out of details the better. Some persons will be found so circumstanced that they are unable to comply with very necessary orders on the subject of isolation, while others would gladly make over their sick cattle to the care of some public establishment. We think it is a great mistake to suppose that the class who from defective room or poverty cannot easily keep their sick cattle separate from their healthy ones, are a numerous body. The expense of running up a bamboo shed for the accommodation of a single cow is simply nothing. In a bamboo country, if the owner of a cow is too poor to purchase the few materials necessary, in nine cases out of ten he can very easily beg or borrow them. The other section of the community who would avail themselves of ~~any~~ well managed public provision for looking after diseased cattle, would doubtless in many districts prove to be a large body. All depends, however, on the management of such an institution ; and we do not think that the difficulties in organizing such establishments have been sufficiently appreciated by the reporters. Should the menial in charge of the cattle make the most of his opportunities, and instead of feeding the cattle misappropriate the funds entrusted to him for their welfare, cattle-owners would not be slow in resenting the oppression implied in removing their cattle from their own charge, and placing them in the keeping of a dishonest custodian. To secure attention for stock either sent willingly, or forcibly taken to these pounds, would require the most careful local arrangements ; and considering the chances of mismanagement, great caution would be required in making use of compulsory measures which the law might authorise.

It is by no means unlikely that in some places it would be found impolitic to attempt to force the people either to care for their diseased and contagious cattle, or to allow others to attend to the necessary restrictions for them. In such a case,

while for the time ceasing to impose restrictions on the action of individuals, the executive might be empowered to deal with any obstinate community as a dangerous class, and place the village or circle of villages in quarantine; so as to prevent, while the plague prevailed, all communication with the outside world likely to allow of contagion being spread beyond the affected locality. A special cordon of police would be necessary to enforce such quarantine; the cost would properly be borne by the locality whose obstinacy required such a special provision. Having recourse to such means of repression must always be decided on with hesitation. It is punitive in its very essence; and, unlike segregation in the houses of owners, or in special establishments, can never be acceptable under any circumstances to those on whom the restriction is imposed.

Were it probable that enforcing such a quarantine would be often necessary, we would have to abandon all thoughts of limiting cattle murrains by legislation. It is only the certainty that such stringent measures will be seldom required, which encourages the hope that much may be effected by cautious and judicious laws on the subject. It is possible, with the assistance of a law, to persuade the great majority of men that to take certain precautions when their cattle are sick is a gain; and we may undoubtedly expect their co-operation in giving early notice when their herds begin to sicken and die. It must be the prime object of every law to secure the willing acquiescence of the people, or else the very first requirement to ensure success will never be obtainable. There are those who recognise in the pole-axe a simple and effective means of disposing of the cattle plague, and who advocate that even in India this remedy should be freely applied. In any single village the advocates of this treatment might support their statements by stamping out the outbreak; but to make the attempt would be fatal to success on any large scale. At once the people would place themselves against us, and incur any penalty rather than be accessaries to the crime of slaughtering their cattle; all notices of stock having become infected would be withheld, and even if the plains of India ran red with the blood of oxen, no success would be gained in lessening the mortality and saving valuable national property.

To allow of assistance being given to the people when they are in danger of losing their herds, the creation of a body of skilled agents constitutes a necessary portion of the scheme as sketched in the report. The employment of such agents can hardly now be termed an experiment, as in various portions of the report it is mentioned that saltries (native farriers) have been satisfactorily made use of in connection with cattle plague.

It is proposed to have a training school for this class, and to have them educated in the elements of veterinary medicine. When not employed in work rendered necessary by cattle plague, they would prove useful to the people in treating other diseases of cattle; and by being appointed to districts would be on the spot when outbreaks occurred and be ready to direct sanitary precautions during early periods of the visitations, when promptness means success, delay failure. The information regarding all matters connected with cattle which such agents could procure for a central college would, when extending over a series of years, prove most valuable.

In our remarks on the "General Report" we have taken occasion to indent freely on some of the appendices; and we have little to say regarding them, except that they contain funds of information stored in a form accessible to all. The sound sense which pervades the whole report is also shown in the careful arrangement of the appendices, in which facts and opinions find their own appropriate place, and with the aid of a full and carefully compiled index can be readily got at, without the painful search so often necessary under similar circumstances. Thus general information, reports, and evidence, are systematically arranged in Appendix II. Selected statistical statements in Appendix III. The subject of cattle poisoning has an appendix to itself; and the subject is of such great importance, and the materials so fully and carefully investigated, that they deserve to have a review to themselves.

Appendix V is devoted exclusively to papers on the sanitary treatment of epizootics. The experiments carried out by the Commission, and the cases treated by them, are detailed in Appendix VI.; while Appendix VII. contains full accounts of the *post mortem* examinations conducted during their enquiry. Appendix VIII. consists of a glossary which materially aids the easy reading of parts of the report which would without it lose much of their value. These appendices are long, very long, but not too long; and owing to the forethought displayed in their arrangement, searchers after information need only turn over the pages devoted to the subject on which they require enlightenment.

The report is rich in information on many other points besides those which we have brought forward. For instance, the improvement of the breed of cattle is taken up; and the authors declare strongly in favour of indigenous and against the introduction of any foreign breed. The recent rise in the price of stock is discussed, and traced to other causes than cattle plague. The system of feeding and watering cattle has been investigated, and abundant room for improvement pointed out. Glimpes

are also obtained at matters of high interest to the political economist, by which cattle are directly affected, and which deserve the careful attention of all well-wishers of India. In the ancient law books, provision is made to preserve pasture lands between the village and fields. Vrihaspati and Manu lay down, we are told, precise rules to prevent such grazing grounds from being subdivided; and render it imperative on all true believers to preserve them intact. Many causes have led to these village commons having been brought under the plough. The decennial settlement included these within the assessed areas. The greater demands for oil seeds, and agricultural produce generally, has led to the extension of cultivation in recent years; and the zamíndárs have seized their opportunities for breaking up these pasture lands. And each bighá of ground which as pasturage brought them in eight annas brings in, if reclaimed, the full rent of cultivated land. The minute division and subdivision of cultivated lands, have at length reduced small holdings to a limit at which the existence of grazing ground is sometimes an impossibility. The cattle of the ráyats have throughout suffered by these transactions; and as commons now in many places no longer exist to which they can be driven for their food, they are now forced to pick up a precarious existence in cultivated fields after the crops are removed, or on fallow land, or among the sedgy grass of marshy land, and along the embankments of roads and the raised divisions which mark off field from field. The gradual disappearance of the village common-lands has long been known to district officers in Lower Bengal; and many of them have looked forward to the time when it will be necessary to re-enact the old laws of Manu for their preservation. We are glad that the subject has been again brought to notice by the Commissioners, and trust that when Government takes legislative action on the report it will not forget the necessity of securing for the village cattle their ancient right of common.

The whole Report is one which reflects great credit on all concerned in its production, and the Government possesses in it funds of exact information on which safe action may be taken.

Except inasmuch as it may conduce to the matter being at last taken up in earnest, it can not be hoped that the mere printing of the report will have the effect of saving the lives of cattle; and considering the masterly way that the investigation has been conducted, it is not too much to hope that it will lead to something being done. As the reporters themselves point out, it has only cleared the way for further systematic investigations, on a more extended scale and carried out on a well considered plan. The Commission ceased to exist as soon as the functions allotted to it were over, and no arrangements have been made for carrying out

the work which the report pointed out was yet to be done. We trust the Government will be alive to the magnitude of the interests involved, and that we may soon find a single Cattle Plague Commissioner appointed to carry on the enquiry so successfully begun.

The appointments of the head of the Veterinary School, which is one of the projects brought forward, and such a Commissioner to give advice and assistance in dealing with cattle plague, could be well combined in one person ; and who is so well able to hold it as the talented President of the Cattle Plague Commission ?

The experience which he has accumulated in various parts of India, while conducting a very difficult enquiry, together with the success he achieved in Europe as the head of a large veterinary college, serve to combine in him many of the most important qualifications to such a union of offices ; and in bringing Mr. Hallen's name prominently forward, we bring the task we set before ourselves to a conclusion.

ART. IX.—TOPICS OF THE QUARTER.

The Native Civil Service in Bengal.

THE most important feature in the educational proceedings of the Government of Bengal during the past quarter, has been the publication of a scheme by which Mr. Campbell hopes to regenerate the Native Civil Service of this province. The scheme is really supplementary to that introduced last year, under which a competitive examination was held in February last, of certain nominated candidates for appointments in the Subordinate Executive Service and the Police and Opium Departments; and it is intimately connected with Mr. Campbell's useful but costly project of an extension of the Subordinate Executive Service by a large increase in our subdivisional establishments. To say that in its details it is as yet crude and imperfect, is only to say that it has recently come from the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor, whom a powerful imagination and an extreme love of vigour seldom permit to see the force of many minor difficulties which readily occur to less imaginative and more logical mortals, to stay their hands and their pens; but that the measure when rounded and polished will have a most beneficial effect, both directly on the tone and character of the native civil officers, and indirectly on our general system of education, we do not doubt. We propose to devote a few lines to a consideration of the possible advantages that may be derived from the scheme, and of the imperfections which at present disfigure it; but before doing so, it is necessary briefly to notice the distinguishing features of the two other projects with which, as we have said, it is closely connected. The common object of all these schemes is to improve the efficiency of our native administrative agency—*first*, by raising its character and education; *secondly*, by increasing its numbers. We will briefly consider first the measures proposed by Mr. Campbell under the latter head, as being the more simple; we shall see, however, that these measures are also expected to effect some good under the former.

Mainly with "the intention of administering the Government of Bengal more actively," Mr. Campbell proposes to establish one hundred new subdivisional establishments, at an annual cost to the country of two lakhs. It is obvious at starting that the most important consideration involved in this proposal is the financial one; and here we must clearly state our conviction that neither the necessity for, nor even the utility of, the measure is so overwhelmingly apparent, as fully to justify this very heavy expenditure at a time when financial reasons are necessitating the abolition of popular Mofussil Colleges and the imposition of unpopular

rates and cesses. It should, however, be remembered, in estimating its effect on the minds of the people who supply the funds, that all this money will be expended on the people themselves—that it will provide suitable and useful employment for a large number of persons—and that in this way, if the results at all correspond to Mr. Campbell's expectations, the expenditure will be popular as well as productive. Whether the money might not be judiciously expended on other objects more popular and more productive, is another question; and one which it would be idle to discuss at length in this place.

The second consideration—the usefulness of or the necessity for the work which will actually be done by these subordinate executive officers—is again one upon which opinions will widely differ. Of course work can be created for them; and as long as Mr. Campbell is Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, we doubt not that plenty of such work will be imposed on them. Doubtless their services can be utilised in carrying out the provisions of the Road Cess Act; but it is hardly fair that the general resources of the province should be burdened (at all events to the detriment of education and similar services) with the expenditure incurred under any such Act. Again, these officers may be employed, as Mr. Campbell suggests, in attending to local public works (for they are all to be practical surveyors and engineers); but then on the other hand it will be asked, what are we going to do with our sub-divisional overseers? Again, they may be used “to superintend the details of Settlements and Government estates;” but in most of the districts of Bengal this work is very slight indeed at the present day. It is true that they will undoubtedly help “to carry on” that active supervision and administration which the Lieutenant-Governor desires to see carried out; and we will even allow that such active supervision and administration is impossible with the present staff of Deputy Magistrates, who are undoubtedly burdened with much judicial, treasury, and office work, and who moreover have no executive establishments as the tehsildars (who are something like Bengal sub-divisional officers, on a smaller scale) have in other parts of India. Two lakhs per annum is certainly a heavy price to pay for a vaguely general increase of administrative activity; but we may fairly take into account the fact that the new establishments will enable the Government to cope more successfully with many important and interesting enquiries into local statistics, and with many economic and social problems that have hitherto eluded their grasp.

With Mr. Campbell's views on the third consideration which naturally suggests itself in connexion with the new scheme, the advantage of giving highly responsible officers like Deputy

Magistrates a good official training in subordinate posts where their inexperience will do less harm, we heartily agree. Few that have had any practical knowledge of the method in which the Subordinate Executive Service has been recruited—and we are not now speaking of the exceptional appointments of Europeans—will be inclined to differ from us when we affirm that that method has been necessarily a thoroughly faulty one, even where the best intentions have guided the selection. We believe that these appointments, involving the almost immediate exercise of some of the gravest and most solemn responsibilities that can be confided to a public officer, have of late been very generally, and almost of necessity, conferred either on raw and utterly inexperienced lads fresh from college, or on old officials who have gained their experience in the unwholesome school of the subordinate establishments of the district or divisional offices. In the former case, men of a certain amount of cultivation and social position have sometimes been secured; but the necessary result of their ignorance of the world and of official life has been, that they have had to learn the whole of their duties by a course of vivisection, at the cost of the unfortunate people committed to their apprentice hands. In the latter case, the mere routine duties of the magisterial office have perhaps usually been more efficiently performed; but the disastrous results of placing in authority ignorant and often narrow-minded men of no social position, and of no reputation or influence other than that which they derive from their official power, must be obvious to all. Mr. Campbell's new sub-divisional establishments—we need not here refer to the army of *chaprâsis** to be enlisted under the scheme—will involve (if the consent of the Secretary of State can be obtained) the entertainment of some 167 junior officers, who may be roughly described as apprentice Deputy Magistrates. These young men will enter the service as *Kânungoes*† on Rs. 25 a month, merely as subordinate executive officers and with no highly responsible duties; they will ordinarily rise through the various grades of Sub-deputy Magistrates on Rs. 50, Rs. 100, and Rs. 150 a month respectively, during which service they will have ample opportunity

* It is not many years since the staff of *chaprâsis* attached to each of the *Mofussil* offices was ruthlessly cut down, at the cost of much heart-burning amongst the officials; and now four, six, or ten *chaprâsis* are to be added to each sub-divisional establishment by a stroke of the pen!

† Why this officer should be called a *kânungo*, does not quite appear. At the time when the *patwâri* system

flourished in Bengal, the *kânungo* was the connecting link between the Collector or other high Government official on the one hand, and the *patwâris* or local accountants on the other. But we believe that, at the present day in most Bengal districts, the *patwâri* is as rare a bird as the Dodo, the need for his services having almost disappeared with the Permanent Settlement.

for acquiring a practical and thorough knowledge of the duties of a Magistrate; and by the time they obtain their full promotion and become Deputy Magistrates, they ought (if the original material selected be good) to be well qualified to perform their functions with credit to themselves and with advantage to the people. To ensure as far as possible the selection of good material in the first place, is the object of Mr. Campbell's most recent scheme, which we shall discuss presently.

Many objections have naturally been raised against a system which makes it necessary for men, on entering the Native Civil Service, to begin on a much smaller pay than that which they formerly enjoyed. Of those objections the chief are—*first*, that a good class of men will not be attracted by such small salaries; *secondly*, that low pay will largely increase the tendency to corruption. To both these the same answer may be returned:—*viz.*, that though the commencing salary is low (*i.e.*, though we do not pay a man highly for learning his future duties), yet the prospects of every successful candidate will be very good indeed; and will be quite sufficient both to attract good men, and to act as a pledge of good conduct. On these points, the analogy with the English Civil Service, adduced by the Lieutenant-Governor undoubtedly holds. In the Government offices in Whitehall and Pall Mall, the salary on entering is hardly ever more than £100 a year, which, allowing for the difference in the cost of living in India and England, is certainly not more than the first pay of a *kánungo*; and yet these appointments are immensely coveted, and attract shoals of young men of good family and of the highest cultivation. In January 1859, eight writerships in the India Office in London (the pay commencing at £80, and rising to £100 *after ten years' service*) were thrown open to public competition. The total number of applicants for copies of the regulations and forms was 789; of whom 391 actually competed! No less than 70 of these had received their education at a University or Public School; a very large proportion were the sons of gentlemen.

We now come to the measures by which Mr. Campbell proposes to effect a selection of good materials for his Native Civil Service. These are twofold in their operation. He orders, in the first place, an examination to be held into the literary and physical qualifications of each candidate for employment, the examination to be open to all comers under certain conditions; and, in the second place, the establishment of a College (or rather a department of a College) in which aspirants may obtain the training required for this examination. The first examination was held last February; and the amended rules for the next

examination have just been published in the *Gazette*, together with a tag in the form of a Resolution ordering the immediate establishment, in connexion with the Hugli College, of a Department in which students will be prepared for the various requirements of the Civil Service curriculum.

Some of the native newspapers have strongly objected to a saving clause attached to the notification of the rules for the examinations, to the effect that the pass-certificate "will give no claim to an appointment;" but this, though doubtless a necessary precaution, is certainly little more than a *façon de parler*; and is, indeed, in accordance with the usage that prevails in England in similar examination. But we think it is much to be regretted that the notification does not state more explicitly what (or at least what kind of) appointments are intended to be the prizes of successful candidates. There are vague references to the "Subordinate Executive Service"; which, in the present transition state of that Service, may mean either a Kánungship on Rs. 25 or a Deputy Magistracy on Rs. 200. "Other civil appointments," "Police and Non-Regulation appointments," "the Opium Department," are all vaguely referred to; but we fear that not many of the candidates will have a very clear idea of what is in store for them in case they succeed. Again, there is another division which clashes with this one. The prizes to be competed for are divided into "appointments of more than Rs. 100 a month," and "appointments of less than Rs. 100 a month." Yet no one appears to know whether these "lower appointments" are to posts which will *never* give more than Rs. 100; or whether they are to Kánungships and the like, *i.e.*, to the "higher appointments" in an earlier stage. If the former supposition be true, the fact ought to be notified, in justice to the young men who may enter for these lower appointments. If the latter supposition be true, then we are strongly of opinion that the establishment of examinations for the "higher appointments," *i.e.*, for direct appointments to a higher grade of a Service which ought to be entered at the bottom, is a great blunder; as it renders impossible that official training of the higher officers, which (as we said above) seems to be the best feature in Mr. Campbell's sub-divisional scheme.

The following classes of persons only are to be admitted to the higher examinations:—(1) graduates in Arts, Law, Medicine, or Engineering; (2) persons who have passed the First Arts Examination, and have filled for not less than one year a permanent appointment above that of copyist in one of the Government Civil Departments; (3) persons who have passed the Entrance Examination, and have been three years in the service of Government;

(4) persons who have been six years in the Government service ; (5) persons specially nominated by a Secretary to Government. Less stringent but precisely similar conditions are imposed on those who wish to enter for the lower appointments.* A difficulty will be found under this head, with regard to the students of the Hugli Civil Service College. Few if any of these will have ever been in the Government service ; and consequently, accordingly to the above rules, they will not be eligible for the examination for higher posts, unless they happen to be graduates, or to be nominated by a Secretary to Government. But this is probably an oversight which will be attended to hereafter.† The concession made to graduates is a reasonable and proper one ; and will probably increase *pro tanto* the popularity of the University, and do something to atone for the injuries inflicted on its affiliated Colleges by Mr. Campbell in his late abolitions. The premium put on previous Government service in low appointments is the worst part of the whole scheme, in our opinion. True, experience of a kind will be gained ; but we doubt whether such experience is worth much ; and even if it were, it would be very dearly bought by the immense sacrifice of *prestige*—not to speak of the very questionable lessons which are often learnt by service in a subordinate position in the civil offices. We trust, however, that the pernicious effects of this provision will be neutralised by the provision itself becoming inoperative, which appears highly probable ; for of the three broad

* Except that for " natives of Hindústán and of other districts which may be hereafter specially notified, who have served Government with credit and efficiency for not less than three years," only proof of a good knowledge of the *vernacular* is required. Objection has been taken to this, as unduly favouring Hindústánis at the expense of Bengális ; but the concession is perhaps advisable for the present, considering the backward state of English education in Bihár and other Hindústáni-speaking districts. In para. 2 of the Notification it is stated that *all* candidates will be required to attend a preliminary examinations in *English* and *vernacular*, if they " have not already qualified in those subjects." As this rule is perfectly general, it bars the above-mentioned exemption of Hindústánis. This ambiguity will have to be modified, or the exemption will have to be withdrawn—the latter al-

ternative being preferable as soon as a sufficient number of English-speaking Hindústáni candidates can be obtained.

† According to the strict letter of the regulations as now issued, it would appear to be the intention of the Government that, of the students of the Hugli Civil Service College, only those who have actually graduated in one of the four faculties will be exempted from the condition of having been in the Government employment—one year's service being required from those who have passed the First Arts, three years from those who have passed the Entrance, and six years from those who are not members of the University at all.

If these conditions are insisted on, we fear they will be fatal to the success of the new department. At any rate, the point is one which should be at once cleared up.

classes admitted by these conditions—Government clerks,* graduates of the University, and (if our supposition be true) students of the Hugli Civil Service College—we imagine that in an open literary and athletic competition, very few indeed of the first-mentioned class will be likely to succeed.

So much for the persons who are eligible, and who are allowed to present themselves as candidates for appointments. We next come to the preliminary certificates, of which each candidate has to present three. These are :—(1) a certificate of good moral character, (2) a medical certificate of sound health, (3) a certificate of riding (for appointments above Rs. 100) or of walking (for those below Rs. 100); to which we presume will ultimately be added a certificate* of age, though this point is at present left open. With these obviously necessary conditions we have no fault to find; except with regard to the riding and walking certificates, where the inconvenience of the arbitrary division of all appointments at the vague line of a monthly salary of Rs. 100, is more than ever apparent. If the appointments above and below this line are henceforward to be different in *kind* as well as in degree of pay, the division would be intelligible—and so would be the difference in the nature of the certificate required; but at present we are left in entire ignorance on this point, and are consequently not in a position to understand the reasons of the distinction made in the matter of the certificates. On the general question of the necessity for a test of physical activity, we are entirely at one with the Lieutenant-Governor; such a test has long been imposed on the Covenanted Civil Service—and is even more necessary in the case of native civil officers, whose national habits do not warrant an *a priori* presumption of their fitness in this respect.

In attempting to criticise the scheme of examinations, and the educational arrangements in the Civil Service department of the

* Whilst we deprecate the recruiting of the Native Civil Service from the lower ministerial servants of the Government, we do not include under this category (it is almost unnecessary to say) the higher Assistants in the Secretariats and other important Government offices; whose duties are most important, and whose social position often is (and always should be) equal to that of Deputy Magistrates. The appointment of one of these gentlemen to any post in the Subordinate Executive Service would be unexceptionable, as far as the position and probable character of the

nominee are concerned; but these are obviously not the men referred to in the Notification, for they would lose rather than gain by being appointed to a junior post in the Subordinate Executive Service under the new arrangements. It would probably be an advantage to the public service if some of these Assistantships were included in the general scheme; and something of this sort will be necessary, if (as appears likely) Mr. Campbell intends to form a homogeneous Native Civil Service on the model of the English Home Service.

Hugli College intended to correspond therewith, we are met by the same difficulty—that of the arbitrary division of the prizes into two classes, differing apparently (for the examinations appear to be identical) in degree only, not in kind. We fear that this difficulty will greatly exercise the minds of aspirants; but as we have already discussed it, we need say nothing further on the point. The examinations are divided into two parts—(1) the compulsory part, apparently corresponding to the “Test” or “necessary qualification” of the English Civil Service; (2) optional subjects, probably intended to correspond with the “competitive” of the Home Service. For the higher posts, the compulsory subjects are—(1) Vernacular; (2) Drawing, Surveying, and Engineering; (3) Law; and (except in the case of University graduates or undergraduates, and of Hindústánis who have fulfilled the conditions noted above at page 192), also (4) English dictation and composition, and Arithmetic. Of these subjects the fourth does not (as far as we can discover from the rules) count in the competition; and this arrangement is obviously necessary, as the exceptions made above will probably exempt the majority of the candidates from this portion of the examination. For the lower posts, Law is only an optional subject; and for all, the remaining optional subjects are (1) the elements of Botany and Chemistry, and (2) Gymnastics. As every candidate who passes (however ingloriously) in these optional subjects, is to be preferred to any who passes (however well) in the compulsory subjects, it is evident that—unless the competition be much more limited than it is at all likely to be—no man who confines his attention to the compulsory subjects will have a ghost of a chance of success; and so the division into compulsory and optional is not an important one.

The subjects appear to be, on the whole, remarkably well chosen. We notice, however, with regret that good English acquirements count for nothing in the examination. It is true these acquirements, if vouched for by success in a University examination, are taken as a criterion (amongst others) that a man is *eligible as a candidate*. But they give him no advantage in the competition. We are willing to allow that other qualifications may fairly be allowed equal weight, but it seems to us absurd to regard an acquaintance with English as no qualification at all.

The advantage of demanding a good knowledge of the vernacular—Hindústáni for Bihár, and Bengáli, Assamese, or Uriya for the lower parts of the province—and of Law, from all candidates for the higher posts, is so evident that the stipulation needs no comment. For sub-divisional officers, an acquaintance with Drawing, Surveying, and Engineering is of the highest value; and though its necessity is not so evident in the case of officers in the Police or Opium Departments, its general utility and importance

will render its imposition as a compulsory subject in all cases, harmless in itself and valuable as giving uniformity to the official training. We have steadily opposed, in the pages of this *Review*, all attempts to introduce these and similar practical subjects as necessary portions of a *general* liberal education—simply because no one such subject can possibly be useful to all or even the majority of the highly educated men of this or any other country, and because other subjects are more useful as mental discipline. But we have as strenuously urged their introduction into our schools and colleges where practicable, and into the curriculum of the University of Calcutta as *optional* subjects. We object to force on unwilling learners studies which are essentially technical, and which properly take their place in a special technical education ; of the immense advantages that must accrue to this country of undeveloped resources, from the wide diffusion of such practical knowledge amongst students whose tastes or whose future avocations demand it, it is impossible to entertain a doubt. To no one except a professional engineer, is a competent knowledge of surveying and engineering likely to be of so much practical use as to a sub-divisional officer ; he will have to investigate questions of disputed boundaries, to make roads, to build culverts, to dig tanks, to superintend hundreds of operations in which his knowledge will be turned to account in one way or another, almost daily. The scheme before us, in insisting on the possession of such knowledge as a qualification for offices in which it is so obviously required, promises to effect an important revolution in the conduct of those petty local public works which have hitherto generally been a disgrace to the country. Nearly the same remarks will apply to elementary Botany and Chemistry, which we are almost sorry to see made optional instead of compulsory in the present technical course. Some acquaintance with the principles of scientific agriculture seems absolutely essential in an executive officer of an agricultural country, of whose duties not the least important or least honourable ought to be the development of its agricultural resources ; and scientific agriculture is impossible without a knowledge of elementary botany and chemistry. It is difficult to imagine a nobler field for the patriotic ambition of a native civil officer, than that which is offered by the possibility of immensely improving the position of the cultivators of the soil and increasing the material wealth of the country, by the introduction of improved methods of tillage ; and it is at any rate the duty of the Government to provide that its officers are not incapacitated, by ignorance of simple scientific principles, from attempting this important task.

Experience of the results will alone enable us to form any opinion as to the advisability of making Gymnastics, which

is the only remaining subject, an optional part of the scheme—the optional parts being also, as we have seen, virtually compulsory. On the one hand we are led to fear, from the flabby and fatty muscles and generally feeble *physique* of the ordinary Bengáli Bábú, that a course of athletic exercises may prove more than his enervated constitution can bear. On the other hand, we all know what wonders good training, neither too hasty nor too severe, can effect on comparatively weak subjects; and the strength and powers of endurance that are manifested by some of the lower classes in Bengal—notably the *blhistie* and the palki-bearers—will occur to every one as evidence that these qualities are not absolutely denied to Bengális either by the climate or by their physical constitutions. Some reform in this direction will at any rate be safely effected by the ‘riding’ and the ‘walking’ regulations. If the full measure can be introduced without injury to the health of the candidates, the reform will be in itself of the greatest importance, and may possibly lead to a regeneration of the national habits in these respects by the encouragement which it will give to activity and manliness. It should, however, be introduced at first tentatively only, and with great caution. The proviso about swimming is harmless, but almost unnecessary; we imagine that there are few Bengáli students in our colleges who are not expert swimmers.

We believe that the liberal provision which has been made by the Lieutenant-Governor for instruction of candidates in the required subjects, by the establishment of a special department for the purpose at Hugli College, will be duly appreciated by those who are most nearly concerned; and we gladly hail anything like a *rapprochement* between the Government and the people of this province on any one side of the vexed question of State education. The wisdom of the selection of Hugli as the location of the new college is, we think, obvious: in point of accessibility it is fairly central; it is sufficiently near Calcutta to offer all the advantages, without involving the large expense and the frightful temptations of student-life in the capital; and the Hugli College already possesses a large Muhammadan endowment, from which deserving students of that nationality may fairly be helped if they wish to qualify themselves to enter the public service. With regard to the latter point, we ought to notice that some of the native papers appear to be inclined, evidently on mistaken grounds, to evolve a petty Hindu grievance out of the fact that Muhammadan students will only be required to pay (as they do at present in the general department of the Hugli College) a tuition fee of one rupee a month, instead of the five rupees to be exacted from every one else; it should of course be remembered that the remaining four rupees are supplied rather by the endowment of

Muhammad Mohsin than by the public funds, and that consequently the arrangement is a perfectly equitable one.

In conclusion we will briefly recapitulate the chief points in which we think this highly important and valuable educational measure calls for revision. They are:—*first*, the insufficient recognition of English acquirements as a useful qualification, amongst other equally useful qualifications, for public employment; *secondly*, the absence of any distinct and explicit declaration as to the class of appointments which will be obtained by the successful students of the Hugli Civil Service College; *thirdly*, the inconvenient and illogical division of appointments into the two ill-defined classes of “those above Rs. 100 a month” and “those below Rs. 100 a month”—where we are left in ignorance as to whether the classes differ in kind, or only in degree, and as to whether promotion can or cannot be obtained from the lower class to the higher class without further examination.

Vigorous Government.

IN our last paper on this subject we were unable to discuss the questions connected with the late disturbances at Lúdhianá as fully as we could have wished, because the official papers on the case had not yet been published. They have since appeared, and they have been so fully commented on by the press that it will be sufficient to place before our readers the following brief account of the facts of the case.

On 12th January last, there was the usual quarterly meeting of the chief Kúkás and their followers at the house of their Gúrú Ram Singh at his village of Bhainé in the district of Lúdhianá. At that meeting a small portion of the sect announced their intention of resorting to violence, and of commencing the war by taking the town of Malehr Kotla. Notice of this was sent to Mr. Cowan, the district officer, who sent warning to the authorities concerned. On the 13th this band of fanatics proceeded to put their threat into execution; by the afternoon of the 15th the expedition had ended in an ignominious failure, and the remnant of the band that had escaped the sword had surrendered themselves to the first native official, Niáz Ali, tehsildár of Sherpur, who rode up to them with a few horsemen.

On hearing that the outbreak had actually occurred, Mr. Cowan at once proceeded to the spot; but on the 16th he was met by Niáz Ali, who informed him that the affair had collapsed, and that the whole of the survivors were prisoners in his hands. Mr. Cowan ordered them to be brought to Kotla. On the morning of the 17th, whilst awaiting their arrival, he wrote a despatch to his official superior announcing his intention of putting all of them to

death in order to prevent similar risings in future; and this intention he afterwards most fully carried out.

The movement was crushed by no act of Mr. Cowan's, but, as he himself readily admits, by the resistance offered by the first authorities who opposed the insurgents. It is not alleged that it was impossible to conduct the prisoners to Lúdhianá, or that their execution was necessary to put down an existing rebellion. The sole excuse offered for it is this, that had not the movement failed at the outset it might have become serious; that unless a "terrible warning" were given, a "similar" movement might take place at some future time; and a partial success, the effect of which would be disastrous, might possibly attend it. Mr. Cowan therefore took it upon himself to give this 'warning,' "being fully aware of the responsibility he was incurring." The policy of his act was condemned by every one of his superiors; even his most devoted admirer, *Indian Public Opinion*, will not guarantee its perfect wisdom. The Supreme Government on whose behalf the act was committed not only disavows it, but also dismisses its author from the service, and severely censures the Commissioner who supported him.

We are asked to condemn this decision with every epithet in our vocabulary, because.

1. It is unjustly severe; it is virtual ruin to a man who has served the State well for years, and whose only fault has been at most an error of judgment.

2. The act itself is an example of vigour and zeal,—qualities which, even when they run to excess, should not be repressed in an Indian official.

3. 'The effect of the action of the Government on the native mind is disastrous. It will be regarded by the loyal as a slur on them, and by the disloyal as a proof of weakness. Condemn it as strongly as you like, Mr. Cowan's act was irrevocable; nothing could be gained by repudiating it, except the "applause of the sickly sentimentalist of Exeter Hall"; every argument of expediency was in favour of at least openly supporting it.

Let us examine these reasons in detail. Firstly, is the sentence unnecessarily severe? For Mr. Cowan personally we have the very greatest sympathy, and we should have it even were his offence morally greater than it is. But we cannot help remembering that his act was of its very nature one of those which make or mar a whole career; and that it was committed after its author had had time for the fullest deliberation, and when he was perfectly aware of the responsibility he was undertaking. He played for a high stake; had he won, that is, had the Government cordially endorsed his policy, he would have been a made man. He has lost, and he must pay the forfeit. In our

opinion, the Government had no alternative but to reward handsomely, or condemn severely ; to record a formal resolution that fifty men were illegally and unnecessarily put to death, and to punish the officer who ordered the execution by reducing him a few steps in his department, would have been simply to display that desire to please irreconcilable parties which is the true mark of imbecility. We do not see how it was possible for the Government, taking the view that it did of Mr. Cowan's conduct, to retain him in its service. But we think that having shown its severity, it can now take into consideration his long and approved service—his one fault is sufficiently punished by a sentence which prevents him from serving the State in future ; his past services to it should now be remembered. We have heard (and we most sincerely trust that it is the case) that the Government of India have strongly urged the Secretary of State to grant Mr. Cowan the pension he would have received, had his retirement been voluntary. We hope and believe that this recommendation will be successful ; and the pension granted, the most liberal allowed by existing rules. The only thing that can prevent this, is the indiscreet zeal of Mr. Cowan's would-be friends ; if they insist on making a money present to him a testimonial of approval of his conduct, they can scarcely be surprised if those who disapprove withhold this present.

Secondly, was the act really a display of vigour ? We are utterly at a loss to conceive why it should be considered so. Had Mr. Cowan himself met the insurgents in the field at the first outset, and defeated them, fighting against enormous odds, and had he in the moment of victory, before he knew the extent of the movement, thought it necessary to make a terrible example, we might well pardon his severity even if we did not approve of it. As it was, he simply, after all danger was past, ordered the execution of fifty unarmed prisoners with whose capture he had had nothing whatever to do. No doubt the uneducated men by whom Mr. Cowan was surrounded applauded his action as vigorous ; under such circumstances a native subordinate would always urge his superior to make an example. "*Umda saazé dowe,*" he would say. When the crime with which the prisoners are charged is unpopular, the mob always demand their instant execution, and the official who complied with their demand would for the moment be considered a ruler of the true stamp. But to do so is essentially a proof of weakness ; the really strong man is he whom

*Non civium ardor prava jubentium
Mento quatit solida.*

True vigour is shown by controlling, and not in being carried away by, popular excitement. The zeal and vigour which consist

in repudiating the sound principles which have been deliberately laid down by the Government for the guidance of its subordinates, and in rushing to every excess dictated by the passion of the moment, are qualities which cannot be too strongly repressed.

Thirdly, what has been the effect of the action of the Government on the native mind? Amongst the educated natives, as represented by their organs in their press, it has met with the strongest approval. As regards loyal men in the Panjáb, the feeling is no doubt somewhat different; those who urged on Mr. Cowan his policy of vigour, and who assisted him in carrying it out, cannot be pleased to find their policy utterly condemned; those who did not themselves take part in the movement would be likely to have their judgment warped by the same failing, that wish to give an "*umda saza*," as those who did. Again, it is undoubted that, as a rule, European feeling is strongly against the Government; and it would require a greater amount of moral courage than is usually found in a native gentleman to stoutly maintain in opposition to the European that Mr. Cowan had been justly removed. Yet we are assured that there are many who view the matter in its true light, although they abstain from openly, or at any rate loudly, expressing their opinions. That they should so abstain is not singular. Who of us when we hear the imbecility of the Government and the heroism of Mr. Cowan proved to the satisfaction of a mess-room audience with many thumps on the table, thinks it necessary to express his dissent unless distinctly called on to do so? But granting that the opinion of loyal natives in the Panjáb generally condemns the Government despatch, we must remember that the Panjáb is not the whole of India, and that even in the Panjáb opinion changes. We must look not at what men think now and in the excitement of the moment, but rather at what they will think when the excitement has passed away, if we desire to estimate truly the effect of the Government action. We shall be much mistaken if ten or even five years hence the truth of its policy is not almost universally recognised. That the disloyal should look on it as a sign of weakness is precisely what we pointed out in our last notice as inevitable. We have shown, as we were compelled to show, that we dared not complete our policy of "vigour," or rather the Supreme Government has shown that it utterly repudiates from the first such a policy. That there should even have been an appearance of vacillation is due to the unfortunate action of Mr. Forsyth in confirming Mr. Cowan's acts. No doubt he was actuated only by a chivalrous desire to support his subordinate, whose action he had privately condemned as strongly as any one. But an officer in his position should not allow himself to be swayed by private feelings, however generous; the duty of

a superior officer is to control his subordinate, and not blindly confirm all his indiscretions. Had Mr. Forsyth at once shown this disapproval of Mr. Cowan's action, the Government would have been saved from much embarrassment, and the Panjáb would not have lost one of its finest officers. If a retreat from a false position has to be made, the sooner it is made the better. No doubt Kúkás may again be raising their heads; a man usually does so if he has been stunned, not killed, nor it is surprising if his first words should be unfriendly to the man who struck the blow. From the time of the breaking out of the disturbances at Lúdhianá, the whole of the Kúkás have been subjected to restrictions which fall little short of persecution; they have been forbidden to leave their villages; meetings of five or more of the sect have been declared illegal, and in many districts the police have seemed to take a delight in inflicting on them every kind of petty annoyance. What wonder then if, on the cessation of these annoyances, they assume an attitude which their opponents think not sufficiently submissive. No doubt many of them may attribute what seems to be the change in the Government policy to fear; they will be more likely to do so if the English press wilfully and maliciously misrepresent that policy. *Indian Public Opinion* thinks it a brilliant joke to suggest that 300,000 copies of the Government despatch, in Gurmukhi, should be distributed by colporteurs; the argument being that unless the peasants to whom the copies were given could show, by submitting to a searching cross-examination, that they followed accurately the train of reasoning of the despatch, there would be irresistible evidence that the "broad principles" on which it professed to be based were contemptible. We confess that the maxim, that no man shall be punished otherwise than by due course of law, appears to us so undoubtedly true, that nothing short of the clearest necessity would induce us to depart from it; we certainly should not reject it because a few fanatics were unable to appreciate it, even if the editor of a local paper showed himself equally ignorant. True soldiers do not find it necessary to fire on a crowd simply because they are jeered at by a few small boys.

The whole of the reasons advanced in condemnation of the Government despatch appear to us utterly unfounded; but even were there more strength in them than there is, there is a far higher reason which amply justifies the declaration of the Government. It is the necessity that existed of not merely rewarding or punishing Messrs. Forsyth and Cowan, but of declaring once for all the principles on which the country is to be governed.

There are two diametrically opposite principles advocated. The one most popular with Europeans is the "conquered country" or "damned nigger" theory. When stated under the latter form

it is offensive to our taste ; but the principle underlying it is the same as if we use the euphemistic language of the Government despatch, and describe the principle as a "feeling that the law is all very well for quiet times." Stated as calmly as possible the idea is this :—the country *is* a conquered country, and the prestige of the conquerors must be maintained at all costs ; there can be no true amalgamation between the conquerors and conquered ; all real power must be retained in the hands of the ruling race ; and this power must be practically unlimited. True, we are no advocates of the "nigger-thrashing" blackguards, we would punish them severely ; but only on the ground of humanity, just as we would punish them for cruelty to animals, and not on the ground that their act has infringed the rights of a fellow-subject. We may legislate as if they were really fellow-subjects, and draw up our laws in the language of equality ; and as far as regards natives amongst themselves we may actually put these laws into practice. As regards ourselves, at any rate in our official capacity, these laws are simply the paper constitution of a despot. They please certain theorists, and may be allowed to exist as long as they are harmless ; the moment they appear to fetter our discretion, we will trample them under foot. We do not need the plea of necessity to justify us, we possess all the executive power of oriental despots. To punish us, you must prove that we have abused that power, not merely that we have transgressed a paper law.

The other principle, which degenerates into sickly sentimentality less often than the despotic theory into "damned niggerism," is this. The question, what was the origin of British power in India, is one that belongs rather to the historian than to the statesman. It is sufficient for the latter that the power exists, the people under it have become British subjects, and are entitled to be governed on British principles ; the essence of those principles is the rule that the Government shall be the impartial administration of existing laws, and not the will of an official ; no one shall be excluded from office on account of race ; if out of 100 men possessing the necessary qualifications for office, 99 are Europeans, this is no reason for excluding the 100th, a native ; what laws should be made, and who should make them, must be decided by the actual condition of the society for which they are intended, but when they have once been made, they must be as carefully and impartially administered in an Indian district as in an English county. The maintenance of the existing Government involves no question of class supremacy ; every official, whether in England or in India, is bound to prevent the overthrow of the Government he serves ; if security cannot be attained without a disregard of the law, the law must be disregarded, but all officers must thoroughly understand, that in setting aside the law they are undertaking a serious

responsibility; the only plea which can justify them is the plea of necessity. Doubtless facts which would fail to support the plea in England would often be deemed sufficient in India, but in both cases the existence of the necessity is a question of fact; should the Government find that the necessity did *not* exist, and that there was no sufficient reason for believing in its existence, the officer who set aside the law must expect punishment in proportion to his offence; neither in India nor in England can he be allowed to raise the plea that he possesses a general power of suspending the law when he thinks fit, and that he can only be called to account when his exercise of this power shows actual malice.

It is this latter principle which Her Majesty on assuming the Government of India openly proclaimed as the basis of her rule. The Government of India by the recent despatch has declared that Her Majesty's proclamation is to be seriously carried out, and not kept for show on State occasions. We believe that the principle is true, and the declaration of the Government necessary.

NOTE.—Since the above was written, our opinion as to the necessity of the Government declaration has been only too thoroughly confirmed. The *Pioneer*, which is one of the best and most temperate of Indian papers, in its issue of 27th May quotes an extract from *Indian Public Opinion*, to the effect that it is probable that another Kuka outbreak will take place before long. It adds the following comment:—"We hope that this is true, and that the Cowan deputed to quell it *will take no*

prisoners." When the editor of an able and influential journal can calmly write that he *hopes*, merely to obtain what he would consider proof of the correctness of his former views, that an outbreak will take place which must result in the death certainly of many natives, and possibly of many Europeans, and which will inevitably add to the existing ill-feeling between the two races, is it not abundant proof that European public opinion needs a lesson in common humanity?

CRITICAL NOTICES.

I. VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

1 *Visva darpana*. A fortnightly Magazine. Parts I and II. Pans, 1278, Calcutta.

THE editor of this magazine promises in his preface to provide short and easily understood articles on morals, literature, science, politics, and social topics, for the benefit of children. The subjects treated of in the first of the numbers under review, are "The Atmosphere," "English education in Bengal," "Christmas day," and an account of "Nelly Brandon." Of these, the second one deserves some attention, inasmuch as it is an attack on English education in this country. The views of the writer may be summed up in the following words:—A nation never really attains prosperity until its mother-tongue is duly cultivated; the Bengalis will never attain the excellence for which they are struggling until the almost exclusive cultivation of the English language as at present followed, is discontinued. In reply to the other party who object to the Bengali being made a national language for education, on the ground of its not having in store a sufficient number of readable books, it being a language that is newly developing itself, he says that the books which at present exist in the language are sufficient for the purposes of a liberal education. He therefore advises the Government to give prominence to Bengali; and to establish Bengali schools all over the country instead of wasting the public money on colleges and English schools. One college in the whole Presidency, and one English school in each zillah, are quite sufficient; aided schools are not required. We decline to give a lengthy criticism of the opinions advocated here; suffice it to say that the fallacy of the argument is apparent, the subject a hackneyed one, and that Utopias without any tincture of reason are wholly worthless.

The second of these numbers treats of "Light and Darkness," "The necessity of a Marriage Act," and a translation of the "*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*." As far as opinions are concerned, we do not hesitate to say that we differ from the editor on nearly every point which he discusses. We doubt if the translation of the "*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*" be intended for children, as the editor professes; it certainly is not suited to their tender years.

Visva darpana Monthly. No. III. Chaitra, 1278. Calcutta :
New School Book Press.

THE apparently interesting articles of this number are "The late Lord Mayo and the future Governor-General," "National fairs," "Air," "An inquiry into the constitution of man," and translations of the "*Adhyátma Rámáyana*" and the "*Markandeya Purána*." The writer of the first article after trying his skill in defending or rather attempting to defend, some of the acts of the deceased Viceroy, exhorts Lord Northbrook to discourage the study of English, and make the Bengálí language a principal branch of education in this country. The writer seems somewhat hazy in his notions on the science of politics, as his remarks on the question of local taxation abundantly show.

Visva darpana. Monthly. No. IV. Vaisákha, 1279. Calcutta :
New School Book Press.

AMONG the subjects treated of in the Vaisákha number, the readable ones are "Mr. Campbell and the Education Department," and "An appeal to Lord Northbrook." The first contains much the same views that were maintained in the last number of this review, only that the author adds some of his idiosyncracies in favour of Bengálí. In the second he requests His Excellency to pay special attention to the income-tax question, education, the administration of justice, and the Legislative Councils. Speaking of the last, he remarks, "It is usual for the Viceregal and Bengal Legislative Councils to take in more Europeans than natives, as members. This is the root of all evil, and the sooner this evil is eradicated the better."

Visva darpana. Monthly. No. V. Jaistha, 1279. Calcutta :
New School Book Press.

THIS number first of all takes up Mr. Stephen's "New Criminal Procedure Bill," and criticises some of its sections in a fair spirit. The censure pronounced on the mode of teaching in the Sanskrit College at present, is to some extent just; but the other article—that on "Indian Commerce"—is quite worthless. The editor has undoubtedly good intentions in view in undertaking to translate the "*Adhyátma Rámáyana*" and the "*Markandeya Purána*;" but we fear they will not be acceptable to the masses, since Bengálí Johnsonese is disliked by every one except the Pandits of vernacular schools.

It is almost needless to say that the papers before us will not be of much use to any one;—not to children, for the subjects are uninteresting, and unintelligible to young minds; nor to grown up men for they are almost all commonplace; and it is not

using too strong language to say, that some of them are the unnatural productions of a morbid imagination. The style is bad, and sometimes sullied with vulgarisms.

Banga Darsana. A monthly Magazine and Review. Edited by Babu Bankim Chandra Chattopádhyaýa. Vol., I. No. 1. Baisákh, 1279. Sáptáhika Sambáda Press : Bhavánípur.

MR. RUSKIN in the first volume of his "Modern Painters," speaking of public judgment, remarks, "It is a matter of the simplest demonstration that no man can be really appreciated but by his equal or superior. His inferior may over-estimate him in enthusiasm ; or as is more commonly the case, degrade him in ignorance ; but he cannot form a grounded and just estimate." Such has been the lot of this magazine. No sooner was it out of the press than criticisms, rather censures, some ungrounded, and some proceeding from a sort of jealousy, were showered upon it from all sides. Others again carried away by Babu Bankim's name were more rapturous in their praise than Goethe for the "*Sakuntalá*." The publisher announces in the prospectus that he will conduct this magazine after the manner of the best English journals of the day. The articles, for the most part, are to be on historical, social, philosophical, and scientific subjects ; and such other topics as shall confer a lasting benefit on the public.

The subjects treated of in the present number are "The Stain of India," "The Woman-flower," "The "Poisonous Tree," a tale by Bankima Chandra Chattopádhyaýa, "We are great men," "Music," "Eloquence," &c. The writer of the first article wants to show by direct and indirect proofs, as well as by illustrations drawn from Indian history, that the ancient Hindús were a warlike race. In spite of these proofs the Hindús are still regarded as wholly wanting in military valour.

This he ascribes to three reasons :—

1. The Hindús have no historical literature of their own. The nations that have won for themselves a place in history have all sung their own praises ; the Romans had their Livy and Tacitus ; the Greeks, their Herodotus and Thucydides ; the Muhammadans, their Firishtah and Fazl ; but the Hindus have had no witness to their deeds.

2. Almost all the nations that are commonly called warlike carried their arms beyond the precincts of their own dominions ; the Hindús have not much to account for on that score, and that is the reason why they are branded with the name of "cowards."

3. The Indians have lived under the subjection of foreign nations for a long time.

It may be asked, If the Hindús are not lacking in valour, as they are here represented to be, why could they not free themselves

from the yoke of their foreign conquerors? This, our author answers, is attributable to the entire absence of a love of freedom, and of an attachment to a particular nationality. We would gladly have gone through the whole of this article, but our space is too small to permit our doing so. The fourth article on our list is a satire on the readiness with which the Bengális change their dress with every change of rulers and fashions; but the writer's attempts at wit are unfortunately miserable. The piece of poetry "The Woman-flower" is elegantly written.

Banga darsana. A monthly Magazine and Review. Edited by Bankim Chandra Chattopádhya. Vol. I., No. 2. Jaistha, 1279. Sápátáhika Sambáda press: Bhavánipur.

"**E**LOQUENCE, or a Review of Society," is ably written. The writer wants to show that though India cannot boast of a Demosthenes or a Cicero, yet Sákyá Singha and Saukará-cháryya, Válmiki and Vyása, were orators, inasmuch as they produced in the minds of their audience and readers an effect equal to that which the "Philippics" did in those of the Athenians. How far this is true, we leave it to the judgments of the readers of this magazine. "The greatness of man,—how attained," is a sort of an epitome of the history of the rise and fall of the ancient Greeks, Romans, Arabians and Indians, as well as of the English in modern times. The magnanimity and the love of excellence of the Greeks, the force of arms and an excessive desire of territorial aggrandisement of the Romans; the ardent religious zeal of the Arabs; the extreme abstinence from all worldly felicity, and a love of knowledge of the Indians;—all these are the chief causes which tended to make these nations *great*, in the strictest sense of the term. So far we have nothing to say; but when he attributes the greatness of England to an inordinate lust of wealth, we beg to differ from him. Are not force of arms, skill in war, and a love of freedom unsurpassed, nay unequalled, by any other nation under the sun, the chief causes? Are the works of Palgrave and Hume, Froude and Macaulay, the mere narratives of the love of gain of the English nation? Were the unintermittent struggles of the Commons for the last seven centuries all for naught but love of gain, and not for an equal share of civil and political freedom with England's proud aristocracy? The article on "Music" embodies much real knowledge, and is somewhat interesting; and the "Review of Babu Nrisingha Chandra's Bengali translation of the *Uttaracharita*" displays great critical acumen, but should we not take this opportunity to demand from the researches of our Bengali scholars an authentic account of the poet himself, and the age in which he flourished.

Banga darsana. A monthly Magazine and Review. Edited by Babu Bankim Chandra Chattopádhya. Vol. I., No. 3. Asar, 1279. Sáptáhika Sambáda press: Bhavánipur.

IT is almost a received opinion that as civilisation advances knowledge keeps pace with it, but morality remains in the same state. "Man has studied every part of nature, the mineral treasures in the bowels of the earth, the flowers of each season, the animals of every continent, the laws of storms, and the movements of the heavenly bodies; he has analysed every substance, dissected every organism, he knows every bone and muscle, every nerve and fibre of his own body to the ultimate elements which compose his flesh and blood; he has meditated on the nature of his soul, on the laws of his mind, and tried to penetrate into the last causes of all being,"—and yet morality has remained exactly at that stage where it was when the first man tilled the ground for his subsistence. The writer tries to canvas these opinions, and after much wearisome discussion arrives at the following conclusions: first, that many of the cruel customs that are prevalent amongst savage nations are not to be found amongst civilized ones; second, the cruelties and licentious freedoms of the nations of prehistoric times have become the nursery tales of the nations of the nineteenth century; third, in these historic times, equality, liberty, and other moral virtues are gaining ground day by day, and are tending to reform modern society. This is a short summary of what the writer has to say in his article on "Knowledge and Morals" Though we differ from him in particular points, we believe the main doctrines inculcated here to be true. The article on "Cards" reflects great credit on the writer for the ingenuity he has shown in comparing the cards with some of the characters whom we meet with every day in Bengali society. The last one on "Wit" is commonplace. The present number of this magazine contains a few lines of exceedingly well-written poetry. The subject is "Morning;" the rhymes are melodious, and the description quite natural and pleasing. We do not recollect to have seen such true poetry for many a long day, except perhaps in some of the pieces by Babu Hem Chandra Bandopádhya, lately reprinted from the *Education Gazette*. We defer for the present any criticism on "The Poisonous Tree"—the new novel by Babu Bankim, and patiently await its being brought to an end.

The amount of learning and historical knowledge displayed here proves the truth of the *Hindu Patriot's* remarks, that many of the Bengali authors of the day are gentlemen who combine a thorough mastery of the English language with scholarship in their mother-tongue. We wish the magazine all success; but if it is intended for the Bengali public, a class of men almost wholly uneducated, and not for the educated few

only, does it not demand from its readers a greater amount of knowledge than they are in a position to give?

Jámái barika. A Comedy. By Dinabandhu Mittra. Calcutta : New Sanskrit Press. Sambat, 1929.

WE fear that this play will not add much to the reputation of Bábú Dinabandhu ; for some reasons we think that it would have been better if he had never written it. It has a poor plot, if plot it can be called at all. Abhayakúmár, who is the son-in-law of Bijayaballabha, is at first slighted by his wife ; he leaves his country and takes refuge at Brindavana, where he is united to his consort in a very strange manner. Padmalochan, unable to brook any longer the freedoms (by way of corporal punishment) which two wives took with him, betakes himself to Brindavana also and lives there with Abhayakumar, until at last he is reconciled to his wives by their repentance. The play sets forth in an unfavourable light the ill-breeding of many of the Bengáli ladies, but we cannot help thinking that it is an exaggerated picture ; and in any case the task is an ungracious one. The coarse ribaldries in which the *jámáis* (sons-in-law) indulge, are all repulsive to educated ears. The Bayes-like grandiloquence of Niváran when he makes a prose recitation of the Rámáyana is amusing ; but this too is not free from the vulgarisms which soil the work. In spite of these and other faults in the conduct of the drama, Bábú Dinabandhu has given ample proofs of his powers. The characters are all very well discriminated ; and, considered merely as a satire, the book is well written. The biting sarcasm on Bhotáram Bhát, who is represented as a reviewer, scarcely does the author any credit. We repeat, the work before us is unworthy of the author of the "*Navína Tapasviní*" and "*Lilávatí*."

2. GENERAL LITERATURE.

Clinical Lectures on Dengue. By T. Edmonston Charles, M.D., M.B.C.P. Calcutta. 1872.

THE reputation of Dr. Charles as a scientific observer of the highest skill and success, makes the publication of these interesting lectures a real boon both to the profession and to the public at large. They were delivered, in the first place, to a class of bed-side students in the Medical College. Communicated to the *Indian Medical Gazette* (at the cost, as the author informs us in the preface, of very considerable labour in the midst of other absorbing and urgent duties), they appeared sufficiently early in the epidemic to attract the attention of other observers ; and have

certainly done a great deal to develop our scientific knowledge of the diagnosis and treatment of this strange and relentless pest, whose comet-like appearances usually render it especially inaccessible to scientific observation and study.

The diagnosis between dengue and scarlatina, and that between dengue and measles—the difficulties in diagnosis sometimes produced by slightly abnormal forms of the disease such as those which Dr. Charles calls *denguis latens*, *denguis mitis*, and *denguis maligna*—the temperature-charts, illustrating the constant difference between dengue and the allied diseases which is disclosed by the clinical thermometer—the careful investigation of the state of the blood in dengue, illustrated by a chromo-lithograph showing in the diseased blood amidst the white corpuscles and the red corpuscles considerable masses of the minute bioplastic bodies normally found in small numbers in every specimen of blood—all these, and many other points of scientific interest, will immediately attract the attention of the professional reader; but it is not our province to enter on the discussion of such matters in this place. To the general public—and especially the Calcutta public, which has suffered so severely and so universally—the admirably clear and simple description of the course of the malady, of the ordinary and the occasional symptoms, of the relapses and the sequelæ, and of the treatment, will be of the highest interest. On the last point, Dr. Charles lays down the following fundamental principle:—

“At the outset I have to impress on you the fact that dengue is a specific disease, and runs a certain course of its own, uninfluenced by remedies. The days are past when you would attempt to cut short a disease such as small-pox; and I think your faith will be strengthened in what I have afterwards to tell you about the treatment of dengue, when you start from such a fixed and certain basis as that, nothing that you can do will avail much in altering the course that the disease takes. You can do much good by treatment, you can do much harm by treatment, to the individual who is the subject of this affection; but during all the times I have been brought in contact with this disease, I have not been able to collect a shadow of proof that I have ever succeeded in shortening its duration or in converting a severe case of dengue into a mild one.”

Starting from this cardinal maxim, Dr. Charles instructs us to treat the *pyrexia* or fever stage of dengue purely expectantly; giving no medicine (except perhaps, in cases of scanty urine, a few grains of citrate of potass), and allowing a coffee-cupful of strong soup once in six hours. Even in cases attended by convulsions in children, the same expectant treatment is recommended; unless the convulsions recur frequently, when conium should be prescribed in fair doses. It will comfort many anxious mothers

in such cases, to be assured on such very good authority that "the symptom though very alarming is not dangerous." For the pains, which are often intense, as most of us too well know, belladonna is almost if not quite an absolute specific; and this valuable drug will also help us in relieving the restlessness, distress, and mental anguish which are so often experienced. A turpentine liniment may occasionally be used for the after-pains in the joints; and quinine is efficacious in arresting the relapses of the *pyrexia*.

Probably few medical men have been privileged to obtain so extensive and varied a practical experience in the treatment of this disease, as Dr. Charles; and, fortunately for the cause of science, the experience could hardly have fallen into better hands.

May Day: being No. 2 of the CHAMELEON, an Anglo-Indian periodical of Light Literature. Edited by Phil. Robinson. Allahabad. 1872.

WE sincerely regret to learn, from the preface to this the second number of the *Chameleon*, that the venture has not as yet been a pecuniary success. The regret is heightened by another announcement, that the editorship will now pass from the able hands of Mr. Robinson to those of "a gentleman well known to the Press of India," whose name is not given; Mr. Robinson modestly adds—"Better editing and punctuality are therefore guaranteed." We trust that, at any rate, we may not miss that gentleman's sparkling and agreeable contributions from the pages of the youthful magazine. The price of the *Chameleon* under the new régime is to be Rs. 5 a year only, including postage; with a promise that it will become a monthly, if at the end of a year the number of subscribers exceed one thousand. All "receipts over expenditure will be devoted to the improvement of the *Chameleon*, which is *pur et simple* a disinterested attempt to start a periodical." We need hardly say that we heartily wish the public-spirited projectors the success which they certainly deserve.

The first paper in the present number takes its name from the whole—*May-Day*; and *May Day* in India is its theme. To those of our readers who have read *Nugæ Indicae*, or who saw Mr. Robinson's contributions to *Twelfth-Night*, it will be sufficient to say that *May Day* is from the same pen, sprightly and humorous, and withal thoughtful and observant, as ever. The wide difference between the freshness and beauty of a May morning in dear old England, and the almost intolerable heat and oppression of an Indian (and especially a North-West) May, is so obvious and commonplace to most of us, that only the most skilful treatment

could make its description other than tedious ; under Mr. Robinson's airy touch, it becomes an exceedingly pleasant and amusing subject of chit-chat. Can any topic be more trite and stale than the iniquities and sufferings of punkah-coolies ? Our readers will see, from the following extract, what life can be breathed into the dry bones by a true artist :—

"But the punkah-cooly is left outside. His lines have been cast to him on the wrong side of the tattie. The hot wind—whose curses the sweet kiss of the kus-kus turns to blessings, whose oven-stench passes into our houses with a borrowed fragrance—finds the punkah-cooly standing, undefended in the verandah, and blows upon him ; the sun sees him, and, as long as he can, stares at him ; until the punkah-cooly, in the stifling heat of May Day, almost longs for the flooded miseries of Michaelmas." But he has his revenge. In his hands he holds a rope—a punkah-rope—and beneath the punkah sits his master, writing. On either side, and all around him piled carefully, are arranged papers, light, flimsy sheets, and on each pile lies a paper-weight. And the punkah swings backward and forward with a measured flight, the papers' edges responsive with a rustle to each wave of air. And the writer, wary at first and easily outwitting the crafty breeze, grows careless. The monotony of the air has put him off his guard ; and here and there a paper-weight has been removed. Now is the cooly's time. Sweet is revenge. And suddenly with a jerk the punkah wakes up, sweeping in a wider arc ; and with a rustle of many wings the piled papers slide whispering to the floor. But why loiter to enumerate the cooly's mean revenges ;— the dirty tricks by which, when you rise, he flips you in the eye with the punkah fringe, disordering your hair, sweeping it this way and that ; the petty retaliation of finding out a hole in the tattie, and flinging water through it on to your matting, angering the dog that was lying in the cool damp shade. These and such are the cooly's revenges, when the hot weather by which he lives embitters him against his kind. But at night he develops into a fiend, for whom a deep and bitter loathing possesses itself of the hearts of men ? It is upon him that the strong man, furious at the sudden cessation of the breeze, makes armed sallies ; against whom gentler woman, unsexed by heat, lifts up her voice in bitterest upbraiding. It is on him that the mosquito-bitten subaltern, wakeful through the oil-lit watches of the night, empties the phials of his wrath and the contents of his chil-lunchoe ; who shares with the griff's dogs the uncompromising attentions of boot-jacks and riding-whips. For him ingenious youth devises rare traps, cunning pyramids of beer-boxes with a rope attached—curious penalties to make him suffer—for the cooly after the sun has set, becomes a demoralized machine that requires winding up once every twenty minutes, and is not to be kept going without torture. And thus for eight shillings a month he embitters your life, making the punkah an engine wherewith to oppress you."

May Day is succeeded by a little ballad of four stanzas, of

which the words are simple and appropriate, the versification very poor. But the sentiment is pure and true ; and a mother's lines "To her children at home"—two bright bonny little ones far away over the Black Water—will go to the heart of many a mother, and many a father too, who are suffering this, the *peine forte et dure* of our Indian exile. Then follows a review, or rather a *résumé*, of *Alice in Wonderland* and *Alice through the Looking Glass*. Both these charming little books are now so universally and thoroughly familiar, that the recital has not that freshness which it would have had soon after the publication of the latter. The author is doubtless right in regarding the earlier composition as by far the better ; but he might have made more of the *Jabberwock*, and certainly more of the Walrus. The ingeniously-constructed phraseology of *Jabberwocky*, though the poem has already been translated into many living and dead languages, will still repay careful study.

Next we come to a tiny novelette, called *Trifles light as Air*. It is of the regular *London Society* type—improbable and most trivial, but withal readable ; and another paper in a later part of the magazine, entitled *The Mouth of the Pass*, is somewhat of the same nature, though not nearly so amusing or so well written.

The best article in the number, with the exception of Mr. Robinson's *May Day*, is called *How I founded an Empire*. The story is that of an English adventurer—a sort of George Thomas—who has founded a powerful and well-organised empire in Yunnan and the vast unexplored regions between Burmah and China, during the years 1871 to 1878. Very little is known about these provinces ; which are nominally subject to China, but are in the hands of rebellious Panthays, or Muhammadans, and almost in a state of anarchy. The apparent reality of the story is exceedingly well kept up—the writer being evidently very familiar with Dr. Anderson's recently published book on these regions.*

Notwithstanding the apologies of the Editor, we are inclined to consider this number of the *Chameleon* little if at all inferior to its predecessor ; we hope it will maintain its reputation as successfully under the new management.

On the Necessity of National Support to an Institution for the cultivation of the Physical Sciences by the Natives of India†. By Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar.

DR. Mahendra Lal Sircar has at last favoured the general public by publishing the substance of this lecture as one of the

* We are unwillingly compelled to hold over a notice of this most important work by Dr. Anderson—

† Being the substance of a Lecture delivered at a meeting of the

Bethune Society, held in the Medical College Theatre, on the 1st, and at a meeting of the Literary branch of the Uttarpurá Hitkari Sabhá held on the 14th February, 1872.

articles of the *Calcutta Journal of Medicine* (Vol. V., Nos. 1 and 2). The lecturer begins by expatiating on the usefulness, moral and psychological, of the physical sciences ; and the great trouble and expense which lie in the way of the scientific discoverer. The Indian youth, he says, have an aptitude for, and a love of science almost peculiar to themselves, an aptitude and a love nowhere else to be met with. How is it then that the Indian youth are notoriously apathetic and indolent in scientific as well as in most other research after their school and college life is over ? This is a serious question, as Dr. Sircar rightly thinks ; and as far as we are aware it has never been satisfactorily answered. The lecturer offers a solution which has much to be said in its favour. He says :—

“The true cause, why our educated youth have not hitherto turned to any substantial profit the knowledge they have acquired at school, lies in the fact of want of good opportunity, want of means, want of encouragement, and not in defective moral nature, nor in a badly developed physique, nor in an easily spent precocity nor in inadequate food. It must not be forgotten that the atmosphere that surrounds our educated young men is the worst imaginable for the development and cultivation of the intellect. They have to contend against deep-rooted prejudices and time-honoured customs in every step of their life, which tax their energy and their purse. The word purse reminds me of the extreme poverty of the best students who come out of our educational institutions. After their school days, they have to struggle hard for simple existence. And whoever knows the fabric of our society should not blame the student, who has to relinquish his favourite studies in search after bread for himself and his numerous family, not composed of his own children, but of relations closely and distantly connected, whom he must support so long as he wears the skin of man.”

This is only the bare truth ; and we consider it a matter for regret, that many writers have libelled the whole body of Indian youth by attributing the apathetic and indolent habits “to a radically degenerate moral nature.” As under the existing circumstances, there is very little to be expected in the way of scientific discovery and progress from the graduates of the University, the lecturer proposes to start an Institution whose chief function would be to train men in science. “The plan of the proposed institution is simple enough. For division of work, for convenience of instruction, we must have sections ; to each of which will be allotted one branch of science or a series of cognate branches.” This is the chief end proposed by the “Sircar Science Association.” The sum realised by the subscriptions of some of the munificent zamindars of Bengal amounts at the present moment to Rs. 30,000. But even this large sum is, considering the expensive nature of such a project,

entirely inadequate. The expense of a single chemistry class, not to speak of physics and electrology, is very considerable; and a large augmentation of the funds of the Association is urgently called for. We trust that the Rothschilds of Bengal will not be blind to the fair prospect opened to them by Dr. Sircar, of elevating the physical and intellectual, and thereby the social and moral, condition of their countrymen. Is not literary patronage one of India's chief boasts? Is, not this the land where Vikramāditya once ruled, surrounded by his nine gems, and visited by all the *litterati* of the country? Was not Bhoj Rájá also an Indian monarch? Let the educated aristocracy read carefully the history of their country; they will find that such was the zeal of their ancestors and predecessors for the encouragement of learning, that they oftentimes gave away half their zamindáries to support the worthless *tols* and *chatuspátis* situated in their domains. We say *worthless*, for these things were of no good to anybody inasmuch as their professors only occupied themselves in making the cobweb textures of *Nyáya* more and more intricate; these labours being now totally forgotten, or living only in the minds of their successors. True, the works of Udayanáchárjya and Vácháspáti Misra are incomparable specimens of dialectical art and metaphysical subtlety; that the *Bhásyas* of Sankara, and the commentaries of Sávana on the Upanishads, afforded food to the speculative minds of the Indians; and that the works of Yáska and Kátyáyana, Vararuchi and Patanjali were great helps to the student of Sanskrit philology; but in no way did they ameliorate the material condition of the country. The social and economic condition of the Indian would have remained exactly in the same primitive state as that of his Aryan ancestor, how elevated and how refined soever his mind might be, had it not been for a few handicraftsmon and so-called natural philosophers which India then produced. Now, if for want of more fitting objects, Indian magnates could formerly display their munificence to dreamy and speculative logicians and rhetoricians, how much more ought they to do what they can to encourage the development of Western science at the present day! Do they not recollect that "it has"—we quote from Macaulay—"lengthened life; has mitigated pain; extinguished diseases; increased the fertility of the soil; has given new securities to the mariner; furnished new arms to the warrior; guided the thunderbolt innocuously from heaven to earth; lighted up night with the splendour of day; extended the range of human vision; accelerated motion; annihilated distance; enabled man to descend to the depths of the sea, to soar into the air, to penetrate securely into the noxious recesses of the earth, to traverse the land in cars which whirl along without horses and the sea in ships which run ten

knots an hour against the wind." These are but a few of the advantages that have accrued to man from his scientific studies; the full sum briefly stated would be, that man was formerly the minister, and is now the master, of nature. If anything deserves kind encouragement and fostering care in this country where the development of every national resource is in its infancy, it is the study of physical science. Let those that wish to reap its benefits, sow the timely seed. Let the wealthy Bengalis contribute each his quota, either by personal study or by enabling others to study; and the good effects will soon be visible.

To conclude, Dr. Sircar is conferring a great boon on his countrymen by his unwearied efforts to naturalise science in this country; and we have no doubt that the Science Association will ultimately become popular amongst educated Indians. Should it ultimately succeed, and realise the expectations of its excellent founder, its establishment may possibly mark a turning point in the history of the social and material progress of Bengal.

The Flora of British India : Part I.—Ranunculaceæ to Polygalææ. By J. D. Hooker, C.B., M.D., F.R.S., D.C.L. Oxon., LL.D. Cantab., &c. &c., assisted by various Botanists. Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. London. 1872.

THE stupendous magnitude of the task which Dr. Hooker has commenced in the volume before us, may be imagined from the fact that the Flora of British India comprises no less than twelve to fourteen thousand distinct species; and to these will have to be added the flowering plants and ferns of Kashmir and Western Tibet, which will naturally find a place in this work, inasmuch as those countries belong to botanical regions included within British India, have been mainly explored by Indian officers, and are habitually visited by Indian tourists and travellers. Dr. Hooker informs us in his preface, that British Indian botany is represented "by hundreds of thousands of specimens, collected "over an area of one and a half millions of square miles, in tropical, temperate, and frigid climates, and at all elevations from "the sea-level to 19,000 feet. Of this vast assemblage not a twelfth "part has hitherto been brought together in any one general work "on Indian plants. The descriptions of such as are well described, "are scattered through innumerable British and foreign journals, "or contained in local Floras, or works on general botany; a very "large number are described so incompletely or inaccurately, that "they can only be recognised after an inspection of the original "specimens, and very many are altogether undescribed. In short

‘there is no quarter of the globe so rich in plants, and from which such a mass of materials has been collected and deposited in European museums; and yet of which so little of the natural history, and especially the botany, has been systematically brought together.’

To bring together what is at present known about the Flora of India, is the purpose of Dr. Hooker's work; and yet even if he be successful in this attempt, he frankly confesses that a beginning only will have been made of an exhaustive Indian Flora—which must be a work of many years and many volumes. In making this attempt he has associated with himself, by consent of the Secretary of State (under whose auspices the work has been undertaken), many other competent botanists; whose names appear at the head of the pages contributed by them. Of these, the younger Hooker, Thomson, Anderson, and Bennett furnish the greater portion of the present part. All ordinal, generic, and specific differences are fully and carefully described; with full references, under each species, to the original descriptions, together with the necessary accounts of the habitat, &c.

A capital sketch of the Outlines of Elementary Botany from Mr. Bentham's British and Colonial Floras—with short chapters on Classification or Systematic Botany, on Vegetable Anatomy and Physiology, and on the collection, preservation, and determination of Plants—is comprised in thirty-five pages of the present number; and forms a most valuable Introduction to the treatise. The subject is treated in the most simple and popular manner possible; and this section, if reprinted in a cheap and suitable form, would furnish a most reliable elementary text-book of botany for our Bengal schools. We imagine that permission to make such a reprint could readily be procured from the Secretary of State; and we are sure that no one would be better pleased at such a use being made of his work, than the veteran botanist whose name is the best possible guarantee for its scientific accuracy.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

VOLUME IV.

1872.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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ART. I.—THE 'TERRITORIAL ARISTOCRACY OF BENGAL.

NO. III.—THE DINAGEPOOR RAJ.*

THE Bengal Collectorate of Dinagepoor preserves the name, and, to a certain extent, the boundaries of one of the great Hindoo estates which grew up amidst the disorders of the last century and a half of Mahomedan rule. In the Rajbaree at Dinagepoor still resides a representative of the family by whom the zemindaree was consolidated ; but the greater number of the Pergunnas over which his predecessors ruled, were sold within ten years of the Decennial Settlement of the revenues in 1790. Before beginning to sketch the rise and fall of the family, it will not be out of place to state briefly what is known of the earlier history of the district. Various legends connect with it, as with other parts of India, the stories of Ban Raja and his wars with Krishno, of the sage Valmikee and the protection he afforded to Ram's discarded wife, of Porosooram, of Yuddhisthir, and of Vinot Raja, whose realm of Motsyo Desh, or the Land of the Fish, was separated from that of Bhogodotto by the river Korotoyo ; but it is not until the dynasty of the Pal Rajas that there is evidence of any foundation for the stories told.

The Pal Rajas were Princes of Gour ; but rather of the province than of the city which afterwards became its capital, and the ruins of which may be seen to this day. Gour is mentioned in an astronomical treatise, the Brihat Sanhita, of the sixth century after Christ, as part of one of the regions into which India was divided for scientific purposes, but the city was probably not built until the time of the Sen dynasty, which reigned immediately before the Mahomedan conquest. The Pal Rajas appear to have lived in different parts of the district of Dinagepoor, and what is now separated from it under the name of Bogra. The most westerly

* As this is a signed article, the Indian proper names is preserved.—author's own method of spelling Editor.

point where traces are found of them is about a dozen miles south-west of the station of Dinagepoor, on the road to Maldah ; where the tank Mohipaldighee, the village of Mohipoor, and the Pergunna of Mohinogor, preserve the name of that Mohi Pal Raja who, according to an inscription found by Mr. Broadley at Nalanda, and translated by Baboo Rajendra Lala Mittra, was reigning A.D. 856. A pillar still standing on the borders of Dinagepoor and, Bogra, bears an inscription to show that it was set up by the minister of Narayon Pal, who according to the Ayeen Akbaree reigned four generations before Mohi Pal. Another pillar, now in the Rajbarree, but brought originally from the ruins of Bannogor, sixteen miles to the south, records the dedication of a temple to Seeb by a prince of Gour, of the line of Kamboj in the year 888 (A.D. 831).^{*} The tribe of Kamboj is mentioned in the Ramayana, and classed with the Yavanas, Sakas, Pahlavas, and the like, and an inscription found at Monghyr† dated in the reign of Deb Pal, three generations before Narayan Pal, indicates Kamboj as the country from which the Pal race had come ; fair grounds for believing the prince of Gour of the race of Kamboj, to have been one of the same dynasty. In the Thana division of Badolghachee in Bogra the villagers point out the sites of the houses of Deb Pal, Mohi Pal, and Chondro Pal ; in that of Lal Bazar, those of Mohi Pal and Oosha Pal (who probably dug the tank called Ooshardighee near Potiram), Hoodom Pal, and other Rajas of the same name. A copper-plate found in Pergunna Sooltanpoor contains further mention of Pal princes, and there can be no reasonable doubt that during the ninth century, and probably for several generations before and after, they were powerful sovereigns in the province of Gour, that their dominions extended at least as far westward as Monghyr, and their fame as far as Benares. It may be that their reason for settling so far north of the Ganges, which was the great means of communication with Upper India, was that the country further south had not yet, by the subterraneous action which is still going on, risen sufficiently above the level of the water to afford a pleasant residence.

How long the Pals reigned there is no certain means of knowing ; but before the Mahomedan conquest, A.D. 1203, the Sen dynasty had supplanted them, and had made Gour the capital of its dominions. It may be that the Pals had retired before the Sens, and crossed the Korotoyo, retaining some power to the eastward of that river ; the writer of an article on Ancient Assam‡ was of opinion that they were reigning in Kamroop as late as A.D. 1175.

^{*} Translated by Babbo Rajendra Lala Mittra.

† As. Res. vol. i. p. 123.

‡ Calcutta Review, Aug. 1867.

According to Dr. Buchanan, the kingdom of which Gour was the capital, was in the time of the Sens divided into six provinces, the central one being Gour, surrounded by the other five, Barondro, Bonggo, Bagri, Rarhi, and Maithilo. Barondro, bounded by the Korotoyo on the east, and the Mohanondo on the west, extended northwards only as far as Dumdumma, on the river Poornabhoba, near Bannogor, before mentioned. As soon as the Mahomedans had made themselves masters of Gour, they established a frontier post at Dumdumma, and another at Ghoraghat, the latter to menace Kamroop, the former directed against some power, we know not what, in Dinagepooor. The Mahomedan remains at Dumdumma are numerous, showing the strength of the force that was kept there, and the length of time for which they occupied the post. A mosque there bears an inscription recording that it was built by one Zafar Khán Bahrám Itziú in the reign of Kai Káos Sha, in the year 697 Hijri (A.D. 1297).*

At first the Mahomedan ruler in Gour was no more than the Viceroy of the Emperor at Delhi, but it was not long before the amount of power which he derived from the rule of so great and rich provinces, and the distance at which he found himself from the controlling authority, tempted him to assert his independence. Dr. Buchanan, who had access to a valuable manuscript in Poroowa, was of opinion that Ali-ud-deen, who reigned A.D. 1340—1342 † was the first Bengal Viceroy who refused tribute. In the time of his successor Shamsuddeen, the Emperor Firoz Sha marched upon Gour, and the rebellious Viceroy fell back upon Ghoraghat, but the Emperor came to some terms with him, and left him in the enjoyment of his post. During the time when the Viceroys were endeavouring to make themselves independent sovereigns in Bengal, their attention was principally turned towards the movements of the power in the west that they were setting at defiance, and they had the less leisure to bestow upon the Hindoo chiefs to the north of Dumdumma.

It is probable also that about this time the Ganges had already partially or wholly deserted its old channel under the walls of Gour; and Rajmahal, as being upon the bank of the main stream, was found a more convenient residence for the ruler of the province. A stretch of low country, and a line of swamps, to the northward and eastward of Gour, still show where the river originally flowed; and the site, chosen as being as it were an island of stiff clay, which amid the shifting mud and sand of the Gangetic plain, defied the action of the river, and also as being on the bank of the great stream which was the highway of the

* Deciphered by Professor Blochmann. † Elphinstone.

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country, was no longer a suitable one for a capital when that river deserted it. The Viceroy and the troops, when at Rajmahal, were separated from the district of Dinagepoor by the Ganges, and by a tract which is inundated for more than a third of the year, and Gonesh, Hakim of Dynwaj, whom the relaxed vigilance on the northern frontier had enabled to become a powerful chief, swooped down upon Gour, and slew Shekh Bodor Islam and his son Faiz Islam who, Buchanan says, refused to give him the compliment due to the rank he assumed, the meaning of which probably is, that Bodor Islam commanded the garrison of Gour, and endeavoured in vain to defend the city.

The name which Dr. Buchanan writes Dynwaj, probably from the Arabic or Persian manuscript at Poroowa, is undoubtedly the first part of the name Dinagepoor, which means the City of Dinaj. The name strictly belongs to the village upon the lauds of which the Rajbaree is built, one of the six or seven which form the town of Dinagepoor; and Dinaj must have been the name of the person who with his family and adherents first cleared and occupied the land, according to a system of nomenclature applied to new settlements in the district to the present day. This is a far more likely origin of the name than the one usually accepted, which translates Dinagepoor "The City of the Poor."

The title "Hakim" is still commonly applied to zemindars by their ryots.

Upon the death of the Mahomedan nobles, intelligence was sent to Sultan Ibraheem at Rajmahal, by the saint Kootob Sha, and he led a force against the Hindoo usurper. The narrative of subsequent events is extremely obscure. Ibraheem took up his position at a place called Satra, between the rivers Tangon and Poornabhoba, but whether there was any fighting or no is not clear. Then Gonesh made terms with Kootob Sha, and made his son Godason, or, as Elphinstone calls him, Jitmal, a Mahomedan under the name of Jalalooddeen. Next Jalalooddeen takes the government, and puts Ibraheem Sha, who may or may not be identical with Sultan Ibraheem, to death, and afterwards Gonesh deposes Jalalooddeen and keeps him in confinement for four years, when Jalalooddeen for a second time comes into power and reigns for seven years, during which he compels all the Hindoos of Dinagepoor to become Mahomedans, except such as escape by crossing the Korotoyo into Kamroop. There is an air of improbability about this account; perhaps the annalist is wrong in making Jalalooddeen a relation of Gonesh. Jalalooddeen was succeeded by his son Ahmed Sha, who was murdered about A.D. 1426,* and if he was really of the

* Elphinstone.

family of Gonesh, there was an end of it so far as regards the possession of Gour. Whether it retained any power in its original district of Dinagepoor is another question. Elphinstone, who derives his information principally from Ferishta, a Mahomedan writer who finished his history A.D. 1609, dates the raid of Gonesh, whom he calls Káns or Kánis, in A.D. 1386; Mr. J. H. Ravenshaw, who when Collector of Maldah took a great deal of trouble in verifying the history of Gour from inscriptions, manuscripts, and other sources, puts it twenty-nine years later. Kootoob Sha, otherwise Noor Kootoob Alum, died A.D. 1424, and lies buried at Poroowa.

From the episode of Gonesh nothing more is known of the history of Dinagepoor, until the reign of Hosen Sha, or, to give him his full title, Ala-ud-dunya-waddin-Abul-Mozaffar-Husen-Sha, the Alauddin who dates his reign A.D. 1497—1521.* Whatever may have been the Hindoo powers at this time, they found that Hosen Sha had a mind to keep them in order. Several of the roads he made for military purposes exist to this day, and retain the name of Nawabee-rasta. He is said to have conquered Odissa (not Orissa, but a country to the eastward of Dacca), Kamroop, and Kamcha; one of his roads leads from the neighbourhood of Gour towards Tajpoor, on the river Nagor, half way between Dinagepoor and Poorneah, where the East India Company maintained a military post in the last century, and where it is probable that the Mahomedans had a frontier force in Hosen Sha's time if not before. It is in this direction, at Hemtabad, twenty-five miles west from Dinagepoor, that the Hindoo and Mahomedan remains are to be seen, from which Buchanan came to the conclusion that one Mohesh Raja reigned here independently until conquered in the time of Hosen Sha, in which he was very probably correct, though there seem no grounds for his belief that this was the territory of Kamaca or Kamcha, conquered by that prince. It is more probable that the name refers to the temple of Kamikhya on the Nilachol, in Assam, the destruction of which by Moslem fanatics about this time is mentioned in the article on Ancient Assam already alluded to. A second road runs in the direction of Ghoraghat, by which Kamroop was entered; and a third towards Dundumma, which an inscription at Doholdighee shows to have been in A.D. 1512 under the command of a high officer, Vazir of Mozafarabad, and High Kotwal of Firozabad, otherwise Poroowa. Probably the post was strengthened by Hosen Sha as a menace to some power near Dinagepoor, perhaps a representative of the house of Gonesh. This Hosen Sha was

grandson of that Ibraheem Sha who was slain by Jalalooddeen as before narrated. The history of his military operations is somewhat obscure, but there are numerous indications that he found it necessary to show a strong front in the direction of Dinagepoor, as well as towards Kamroop on the other side of the Korotoyo. In subsequent reigns the Viceroys of Bengal were again more occupied with the course of events in Delhi than with their northern frontier, and in spite of the repressive measures which we presume were adopted by Hosen Sha, the Hindoo subjects of the empire, during the wars between Bengal and Delhi, which were not ended until the days of Akbar, found plenty of opportunity to make themselves wealthy and powerful.

Of the earliest history of the present Dinagepoor family there is no contemporary record, and it is necessary to trace the generations backwards from the latter half of the seventeenth century, at which time the state of affairs is well known, in order to fix the dates approximately. In A.D. 1600, Akbar divided the Empire into fifteen Soobas, and made his son Selim Soobadar of Bengal. The Sooba was divided into twenty-four Sarkars, and parts of six of these Sarkars fall within the limits of the district of Dinagepoor. About the time of Akbar's settlement there was at Dinagepoor, at the place from which Gonesh, less than two centuries before, derived his title, a man, possibly of the blood of Gonesh, in possession of a considerable part of what are now the districts of Dinagepoor and Maldah. Buchanan calls him* Kasi, but, whether he is correct or not, the name is now utterly forgotten. His grave is shown at the door of the *mondeer* in the Rajbaree, and offerings of cloth, curds, rice, and plantains are regularly made upon it. His life is reputed to have been very holy, and he is spoken of as a Brahmocharee, Mohonto, or Gosain. It is said that the nucleus of his estate was certain land with which an image of Kalee, named Kalika, and worshipped to this day, was endowed; and that in addition to this he became possessed of an image of Krishno named Kaliya, endowed with the whole of the Sarkar, or Havelee, of Panjara. The estate of Dinagepoor was frequently spoken of as Havelee Panjara, even when it included land in several other Sarkars. Had the estate really been a debuttar, or endowment of gods, Raja Radhanath would probably have brought the fact forward as an argument, when in A.D. 1798 he urged all in his power to prevent the sale of the land on which the Rajbaree and family temples stood; but he does not mention it, and it is probably a tradition of recent origin. It is much more probable that the estate dated from earlier times, possibly from those of Gonesh. The family tradition is that the Brahmocharee left the images of the gods, with their endowments, to his disciple, or *sisoo* Srimonto Dotto Choudharee, a

Kayasth householder who came originally from the east. The story told by Buchanan is that the Brahmocharee left a wife, who procured the reversion of the estates for a slave, through the influence of Srimonto Dotto, who was, he says, a deputy of the Kanoongo of Bengal, and who, after the death of the widow and her favourite, got the estates for himself. In the complete absence of all evidence, the family story may be accepted as the more probable of the two. Srinonto, sometimes called Srimonto Dotto, sometimes Srimonto Mitra Roy, had a son and a daughter, between whom he is said to have divided his estates equally, but, the son dying without issue, the whole came to Sookdeb Roy, the son of the daughter, who was married to one Horiram Ghos, a Koolin Kayasth. Horiram was descended from one Komol Nayan Ghos, a native of Koolai, in the Pergunna Monohorshahee in Burdwan, who was Dewan to the Zemindar of Khetlal. To Komol Nayan was born Jagada Nond, or Darikee Nond Ghos, who had several sons, one of whom, Nrisingho Ram, was the father of the aforesaid Horiram, who on marrying the daughter of Srimonto came to live at Dinagepoor, and gave up all share in his ancestral property in Burdwan. There are persons now living in Dinagepoor who claim to be descended from a brother of Sookdeb, named Bisonath, but this Bisonath does not seem to have inherited any part of the estate. Sookdeb's property as received from his grandfather Srimonto, may be roughly indicated as follows, according to the present Thana divisions of the districts. Including the whole of Thana Thakoorgaon in the north, the western boundary passes through Ranisonkoil, taking in Pergunna Borogaon, but excluding Kholora and Maldwar, and through Hemtabad, including Mohasoo, but not Tajpoor, nor any part of Thana Kaliyagunj except the northern corner which falls within Pergunna Bajitpoor. This line excludes the estates of Maldwar, Tajpoor, Horeepoor, and Chooramon, which were added to the Collectorate of Dinagepoor, A.D. 1793, but never formed any part of the zemindar's property. Passing southwards, the boundary takes in half of Thana Bongshiharee, and from Kordaho runs eastward, excluding Pergunna Kordaho, across the middle of Thana Gongarampoor, through Patiram, excluding Pergunna Sontosh, and then finally turns northwards towards Thakoorgaon, including the whole of the Thanas Chintamop Rajarampoor, Peergunj, and Beergunj. The northern and central part of the estate was in Akbar's Sarkar Panjara, the western in Sarkar Tajpoor, and Bongshiharee and part of Gongarampoor in Sarkar Jonotabad. Besides the lands within this boundary, much of the northern part of the district of Maldah, including the old city of that name, belonged to the estate.

In the time of Sookdeb, or of his father, the family of Khetlal

became extinct, and its estates were divided, seven-sixteenths coming to Sookdeb Roy, whose father and grandfather may have inherited the office of Dewan from their ancestor, and the remaining nine-sixteenths falling to another officer who founded the family of Bordonkootee or Idrakpoor, still in existence. The lands thus added to the estate are in Sarkar Ghoraghat and comprise the Thanas of Nowabgunj and Ghoraghat, and in Bogra the Thanas Khetlal, Sheobgunj, Panchbibee, Bodolgachee, and Adamdighee and perhaps more. Buchanan says that Pergunna Khatta in Bodolgachee was conquered and divided by the Rajas of Nattore and Dinagepoor in Ramnath's time; and that Pergunna Khangor in Panchbibee was a joint acquisition with the Jahangirpoor family, in Ramnath's time; but Raja Gobindonath makes them part of Sookdeb's property. The zemindars of Dinagepoor and Idrakpoor, in place of dividing the lands, each retained a share in every village, which caused much inconvenience when in after days the one estate was under the Collectorate of Dinagepoor, while the other was under Rungpoor. Sookdeb Roy died A.D. 1677. It is said that the extent of his possessions induced the Mahomedans to bestow upon him the title of Raja but the *sunnud* is no longer in existence. Nothing is known of his personal character, or of his history; he perpetuated his name by digging the tank of Sookhsagor, or the "Sea of Pleasure."

Of his three sons, Ram Deb died young, Joy Deb, of whom nothing is known beyond his name, reigned from A.D. 1677 to A.D. 1682, and was succeeded in that year by the youngest brother, Prannath Roy. There is in the Rajbaree a *sunnud*, not very clearly to be deciphered, granted by Ajeemooddeen Mahomed, in the reign of Alumgeer (A.D. 1658-1707) dated A.H. 1089 (A.D. 1679), recording the succession of somebody to certain property, of which part was in the Sarkars of Tajpoor and Ghoraghat. The name of Sookdeb Roy occurs, probably as the deceased owner.

All this time the Mahomedan Viceroys of Bengal were thinking far more of Delhi than of their Hindoo subjects. Soon after Selim the Sobadar had become emperor under the name of Jahangeer, one Osman revolted in Bengal, A.D. 1612. Twelve years later Shah Jahan by force of arms made himself master of Bengal, and in his turn was defeated by Mohabat Khan; next we find Mohabat Khan answering at Delhi to charges of oppression and embezzlement during his occupation of Bengal. In A.D. 1657, Shonja, the Viceroy, made an unsuccessful attempt upon the throne at Delhi, and soon afterwards a son of Aurungzeb or Alumgeer is found in alliance with him against his father. The result of this attitude towards Delhi, persisted in by successive Governors of Bengal, while they neglected entirely the internal administration of

their province, was similar to that which had followed from the like causes in the time of Gonesh, namely, the growth of a Hindoo power which would at last have taxed the resources of the Mahomedan Governor heavily had he attempted to break it down. No such attempt, however, was made, and so long as the Zemindar of Dinagepoor paid the Soobadar of Bengal a certain portion of the rents he received, he was allowed to rule without interference over near three quarters of a million of people. Such was the position in which Prannath found himself placed, by the death of his brother in A.D. 1682. *

Prannath reigned for forty years, keeping great state and maintaining numerous followers. It is said that by force or fraud he incorporated all the small zemindarees in the neighbourhood with the Dinagepoor estate, and he really appears to have made some additions to the property. Raja Gobindanauth in A.D. 1837 gave the Collector a written statement in which the estate of Sookdeb Roy is distinguished from the additions made to it by Raja Prannath and his successor Ramnath; and as the greater part of it had long since been hopelessly alienated, he had no object in concealing the truth. From this it appears that the additions made by Prannath have been greatly exaggerated, and that the property inherited by Sookdeb was very much larger than is generally supposed, or than Buchanan, who wrote in 1808, was led to believe. Prannath added to the property, how we know not, the Pergunna Maligaon, forming the eastern half of Thana Bongshiharee, and Pergunna Ajbor in Maldah, adjoining the western part of Thana Gougarampoor, besides about twelve small portions of land, most of which were surrounded by the Dinagepoor property. To the last there remained more than a hundred independent talooks or mahals within the estate. If any property was won by the sword, it was by that of Prannath and not that of his successor, but how he got possession has long been forgotten, though tradition has it that he was most unscrupulous, and made a most unjust use of his strength. Buchanan is mistaken about the inscriptions which bring his reign down to A.D. 1733, nor is it known to what he alludes. Besides several grants of land, the inscription on the temple of Kantonogor proves that it was finished and dedicated by Ramnath A.D. 1723; and sunnuds granted by Nosoruddeen and Sarfaraz Khan, on behalf of the emperor Mahomed Jahar Shah Badshah Ghazee, dated 1136 Hijra, may be taken as conclusive proof of Prannath's death and Ramnath's succession before A.D. 1724. Family papers date Prannath's death in Phalgun 1129 Bengal Era (February—March 1723). He has commemorated his name in various parts of the district. Prannathpoor forms a considerable portion of the town of Dinagepoor; twelve miles south, the road to Moorsshedabad passes along the

edge of Pransagor, an artificial piece of water, said by Buchanan to be 2,600 feet by 800. The name signifies "The Sea of Life," but also records that of the Raja who had it dug. The banks are now covered with dense jungle, but in Ramnath's time, there was a temple to Seeb here, which the Raja endowed with a grant of land. Twenty-four miles north of Dinagepoor, on the right of the road to Darjeeling, at Prannogor, is an embankment, originally quadrilateral, but the eastern side has been cut away by the Pooruabhoba. The people say that it contains the ruins of the Raja's residence, but the area is covered with heavy jungle, and there are too many tigers about for an investigation on foot. I have repeatedly beaten through it with elephants without coming across any masonry, except a very small *thakoor baree*, in ruins. The temple which Prannath built at Kantonogor, twelve miles up the Darjeeling road, is a large and beautiful specimen of a nobo-rotno, ornamented all over with terracotta reliefs, a fitting monument of the Raja's magnificence and taste. It was not quite finished when he died, but was dedicated by his successor in the same year.

It was during the reign of Prannath that Meer Jaffir became Soobadar of Bengal, A.D. 1702. His predecessors had been occupied in other directions. In A.D. 1695 Shuoba Singh, a zemindar in Burdwan, with some Orissa Afghans, plundered Hooghly, and held the right bank of the river from Orissa to Rajmahal, a clear indication of the weakness of the Soobadar. Meer Jaffir, however, bestowed some attention on the affairs of the province of which he was governor. In the time of Akbar, Todarmull had made a *khas* settlement with the ryots, but it is probable that for a long time collections of revenue had been made through the zemindars, and possibly the payments had become very irregular, when Meer Jaffir made a new settlement, dividing the province into *chuklas*,* and succeeded in raising a yearly revenue of Rs. 142,00,000, Rs. 109,00,000 of which were sent to Delhi. Marshman says that the Hindoos who were appointed *chukladars* took to themselves the title of Raja, and claimed hereditary rights as zemindars. "I think I have shown that Prannath's rights dated from a period anterior to his appointment of *chukladar*, which he obtained, as being obviously the proper person to collect the revenues of his estates.

Having no son, Prannath adopted as his heir a relative, named Ramnath, who paid a succession fee of Rs. 4,21,450 to the Soobadar. Ramnath is popularly believed to have been still more powerful than his predecessor, and still more unscrupulous in seizing upon the property of his neighbours. He is also believed to have

been a warrior of great personal prowess ; and until very lately his mail shirt and spear were shown at the Rajbaree. Buchanan was told that he and his great neighbour, the Raja of Nattore, were allies, and used to make war upon other zemindars and divide their property ; but very little reliance can be placed upon these traditions, and in some cases, as in that of Pergunna Apoil, Buchanan is quite mistaken. Gobindonath's statement before mentioned, records the accession of three properties to Ramnath, each by a sunnud from the Soobadar. One gave him the property of Krishna Chondio Roy who had died intestate, comprising the southern part of Thana Potiram, and the northern part of Potnitala ; the second gave him estates in Gougarampoor and in Maldah that had belonged to Kali Choron and others, and the third gave him Pergunna Kaligabn. Ramnath is said to have gone with Raja Man Singh to the court of Jahangeer, and to have received from him the title of Maharaja Bahadoor and license to make war upon his neighbours ; but as Jahangeer reigned only till A.D. 1627 there must be some mistake here. Ramnath is said to have conquered a zemindar at Gobindonogor, near Thana Thakoorgaon, having employed a Brahman, founder of the family of Horee Mohun Chokrobortee, to steal his protecting deity Chamoondo, and rewarding the service by a grant of land. The Tangon shows signs of having once flowed under the walls of Gobindonogor, where the remains of the Raja's house are still standing ; and from a point on the opposite bank a canal, said to have been dug by Ramnath in order to float the idol backwards and forwards, connects the Tangon with the Pooruobhoba at Prannogor. The canal is called a Ramdangra, a name also applied to the moat and rampart surrounding the Rajbaree, which was rebuilt by Ramnath, and by him adorned with doorways and other carvings said to have been brought from Bannogor, and dating from the period of the Pal Rajas. If tradition could be trusted, it was not without cause that the Rajbaree was fortified, as the absence of any early sunnuds is attributed to a raid of Syed Mahomed Khan, Nazim of Rungpore, who is said to have stormed and plundered the Rajbaree in Ramnath's time. From this Raja are named Ramnogor, a part of Dinagepoor, and Rajarampoor, a mile or two east of the palace, where he built a *mondeer* with images of Kalee and Seeb for Kriporamroy, whose daughter he had married. He also dug Ramsagor, an artificial piece of water five miles down the Moorsheadabad road, where the ruins of his house remained until A.D. 1786 or A.D. 1787 (when the materials were carted away), and where some of the European officers have bungalows to which they occasionally resort in the hot weather. It was during the time of Ramnath that the House of Dinagepoor is popularly believed to have attained its greatest splendour,

It is probable that he took advantage of the troubles of the Mahomedans to spend more of his rents than he remitted to the Soobadar, for whom work was found elsewhere. The Mahrattas were forcing the Mahomedans everywhere to the wall, and in A.D. 1742 plundered Moorshedabad; and, when Ramnath died, A.D. 1760, the English had for four years been giving too much trouble to the followers of the Prophet, to leave them much leisure for auditing the accounts of the zemindar of Dinagepoor.

Ramuath married four wives, and by each of them he had a son and a daughter; this is said to be the reason why the figure 4 is marked on the doorposts of the Rajbaree. He was succeeded by his eldest son Boidyonath, who called himself, as did his successors in turn, Raja Roy Bahadoor. The other sons were Kantonath, Krishnonath, and Roopnath, each called Koomar Roy Bahadoor. Kantonath was jealous of his brother's succession to the whole of this splendid inheritance; and the belief in the family is that he went to Delhi, and there succeeded in procuring his own recognition as Ramuath's successor, and that while on his way back with the necessary authority to turn his brother out, he died at Kordaho, near Dumdumma, either by drowning, or by the fall of the ceiling of a room which he occupied in the Rajbaree there; but, whatever the circumstances of his death may have been, Boidyonath is believed to this day to have had a hand in it. The true worth of this tradition is easily ascertained. Raja Boidyonath died A.D. 1780, and in December 1787 Mr. Hatch, the Collector, reports to the Board of Revenue that Kantonath died at Kordaho on his return to Dinagepoor on the 16th November in that year. If tradition only eighty-five years old can attribute a man's murder to his brother who had died seven years before, we must not rely upon it for the history of events several centuries ago. As regards Kantonath's attempt to supplant his brother, there is extant a paper dated Magh 1170, Bengal style (A.D. 1763-4), under the signature of Mahomed Jafar Khan, declaring that in spite of the sunnud procured from Mahomed Kasim on false pretences by Kantonath and Roopnath, Boidyonath is the rightful successor to Ramnath's estates in Panjara and elsewhere. Kantonath's widow Podyomookhec, and her mourning for her husband, are still remembered. In September 1797, she conveyed all her property, consisting of *lakhiraj* lands, and an income from Sayer compensation of Rs. 560, to the god Krishno, whose temple stands on the north of the Rajbaree. She lived, however, till 1804.

In addition to the property of Sookdeb, Boidyonath found himself master of the whole of Maldah between the Mahanondo and the Poornobhoba, except the Porooa endowments. It is not quite clear to which of his predecessors he owed it; but some of it Sookdeb had held, Ajhor was certainly added by Raja

Prannath, and Shikarpoor was part of the property of Kallee Choron which came to Ramnath, who also became master of some property by arrangement with the Jahangeerpoor family, zemindars of the property now forming Thana Poorsha and the south of Thana Potnitala, and of lands beyond the southern border of Dinagepoor. I doubt whether Boidyonath added one acre to the property; but he and his predecessor alienated at least one-sixteenth of the revenues by the creation of brahmootro tenures and other endowments. The Raja is popularly believed to have been a quiet sort of man, not very strong-minded, in spite of the idea that he murdered his brother. That he had some taste for music is proved by the draft of a letter he wrote to Shyam Soondor, the Vakeel, whom, as became a great vassal, he kept at the court of Delhi, telling him to send him the celebrated musicians, Pon Khan and Mon Khan. There are several legends attaching to him, but they correspond better with the violent temper of his successor Raja Radhanath, than with the character ascribed to Boidyonath. They all illustrate the saying, "*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat,*" and are quoted to show that it was the wrath of the gods that brought on the ruin of his house as a punishment for his impiety. They say that his maternal grandfather, Kriporam Roy, before mentioned as the worshipper of Kallee and Seeb, cursed him as being a Boistob or follower of Vishnoo, and made him childless. Another curse is said to have been bestowed upon him by the Brahman who served the shrine of Kallee Siddhes-horee at Bolotar near Rajarampoor, the curse of the downfall of his family, because the Raja charged the Brahman with drinking wine and eating the flesh of hogs. Moreover he was afflicted with the curse of leprosy for his lowd attempts on the virtue of the beautiful sister of Rajchondro Roy, his own sister's daughter. Perhaps these stories have no more foundation than that of his brother's murder. Some say it was, Boidyonath who brought from Brindabon the image of Kantojee, now in the Kantonogor temple; he certainly built the residence adjoining it. Five years after Boidyonath's succession to the Raj, A.D. 1765, the English obtained the dewanship of Bengal, with the right of collecting the revenues, but it was not until 1772 or thereabouts that an English Collector, or Chief of the revenue, of the zemindaree of Dinagepoor was appointed; and it is probable that the increase of strictness with which the collections were made, was the true cause of the decline of the splendour in which the family had lived under its Mahomedan masters. The records of the Collector's office do not begin till 1786, but Mr. Marriott seems to have been the first Revenue Chief; in 1782 there was a Mr. Redfearn, and a Mr. Vansittart also

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appears for a time to have held the office. In 1786 Mr. Hatch was appointed Collector ; and the Judgeship of Tajpoor being abolished, he was vested with judicial powers in Dinagepoor, to which was added Silberris, then a Collectorate, now forming the southern part of Bogra. Raja Boidyonath had died in 1780 leaving no son, but his widow Ranees Soroswotee adopted a boy three years old named Radhanath, son of a relation, Okol Norayan Roy ; and on the 31st July 1780, Mr. Warren Hastings, on the payment of a succession fee of seven hundred and thirty mohurs, signed the sunnud declaring Raja Radhanath the successor to Raja Boidyonath Bahadoor, and detailing the lands of which the estate was composed. Buchanan speaks of a brother of Boidyonath's, named Ram Kanto Roy ; but he probably confuses Koomar Kantonath with a person named Ram Kanto Roy of whom I shall speak presently. For the first two years after the death of Raja Boidyonath, the revenues of Dinagepoor were farmed by Raja Debee Singh of Dilaworpoor, who had also a farm of the Rungpoor revenues ; he paid more to Government than the estates ever produced before or since, but with such oppression and villany, that he and some of his people were degraded and kept in confinement until 1791, when sentence was given, directing certain refunds, the cancelment of some fraudulent purchases of land, and Debee Singh's perpetual banishment from the districts. His machinations in Rungpoor are called an insurrection, but we know not what they were. After the farm of Debee Singh the revenues were farmed by one Janokee Ram Singh, a brother of the Ranees Soroswotee, at a net yearly rental of Rs. 12,75,968 ; but he does not appear to have understood the strictness of the English revenue system, and although he collected regularly enough from the ryots, his payments to the Collector fell considerably into arrear. He kept great state in the Rajbaree, and dug the tanks of Anondosagor and Matasagor and the canal connecting them. He came from Kotalpota, Pergunna Patoolee, in Burdwan.

When Mr. Hatch came, the officers of the zemindaree found that a firm hand held the reins. In November 1786, by the Board's orders, Janokee Ram was allowed three days to make good his balance ; the collections had all been placed in the hands of Sazawols, but with the understanding that Janokee should again be made manager if he paid up his balances. He tried to raise the money but in vain ; he attempted to swindle the bankers into lending him money on the security of collections which he had already made and expended, and at last, by the Board's orders, he was sent in charge of peons to the presidency. Thence he indited petition after petition, charging Mr. Hatch with various offences which were satisfactorily disproved, and he appears to have died in Calcutta about 1790. In June 1787

Ram Kanto Roy was installed as manager of the Dinagepore estates, his cutcherry being a Government office and the Collector's servants attending daily to check the collections. Every detail of the management was supervised by Mr. Hatch, the estate being divided into sixty-four zillas, each under a tahsildar, who collected from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 1,00,000, receiving a percentage, while each ryot's lands were measured, and he paid rent according to the quantity and quality of his land, irrespective of the crops grown.

The revenues of the estate were well managed, but it was long before the mischievous practices of Janokee Ram ceased to bear fruit. He had raised large sums of ready money by sub-letting lands at a low rent, and the annual income of the zemindar suffered accordingly until the Collector had re-settled all the tenures. In spite however of the good management, I believe that at this time the Raja's income was injured by the abolition of numerous illegal cesses, which had been collected by his predecessors, but which could not be brought under the denomination of the Sayer for the abolition of which compensation was given, and which nevertheless is collected to this day by the proprietors in the district, though Government no longer receives ten-elevenths of it. The cesses referred to are transit duties on salt and other goods, the right of seizing the property of intestate persons, and taxes on birdcatchers, tom-tom beaters, and dealers in intoxicating drugs and the like.

Ram Kanto Roy's father and grandfather had been settled in Dinagepore, but he was of a Burdwan family, being descended from Horee Narayan the brother of Horeeram, to whom the latter, on marrying Srimonto Dotto's daughter, had ceded his ancestral property. The descendant of his nephew, Baboo Radha Gobindo Roy, is now one of the wealthiest zemindars in Dinagepore. Ram Kanto in 1793 bought the pergunna Ambaroe, now in Dinagepore, but then a portion of the estate of the Raja of Rajshahye, sold for arrears of revenue, like many others, soon after the Decennial Settlement. The Raja of Dinagepore had bid up to Rs. 2,500 for it. Subsequently, during the Raja's difficulties, Ram Kanto Roy lent him large sums of money on mortgage, and so became the owner of property subsequently inherited by his nephew.

Irritated by the treatment of her brother Janokee Ram, Raneé Soroswotee maintained constantly an attitude of stubborn defiance towards the Government, Mr. Hatch, and Ram Kanto Roy. Her *koomar* lands, 11,843 bighas of the best cultivated land in the district, brought her in seventeen or eighteen thousand rupees annually, and she was under no necessity to submit and ask for a pension. She and one Mozoomdar buried the accounts of Janokee Ram's managership under ground; she refused to give up the

late Raja's seal, and she kept young Radhanath from Ram Kanto Roy, who had been directed to superintend his education. The folly and extravagance which afterwards led to the young Raja's ruin may be attributed in great measure to the lessons learnt in the Rance's apartments. She took advantage of the boy's being somewhat indisposed to obtain possession of his person, and then held him as a hostage, refusing to give him up until the resumed *moshahara* or allowance, as well as the sums which had been improperly alienated by the zemindar—such as a payment of Rs. 7,700 to Brahmans' as *birt*, but which had on investigation been re-annexed to the revenue payable to Government—should be again allowed to her. Twenty years before a Burdwan Rancee, for similar contumacy, had been dealt with in a manner which afforded a precedent; and in July 1790, Rancee Soroswotee was removed from the Rajbaree, and sent to Gobindonogor, thirty-six miles off, where the family had a residence. She got as far as Kantonogor only and stayed there for two months, before going on to Gobindonogor, and in April of next year she was back in her old apartments at the Rajbaree, on the excuse that all the thatched sheds on the premises at Gobindonogor had been burnt down. In the mean time her *koomar* lands had been annexed to the family estate, and in lieu of them she was allowed a pension of fifteen hundred rupees a month; and as this was withheld until she complied with orders, Raja Boidyonath's seal, which had been affixed to documents in a most improper manner, was at last given up. She mortgaged her pension for some years to one Manockjee Parsee, probably for money to enable her worthless brother Janokee Ram to prosecute his charges against Mr. Hatch; and some of Raja Radhanath's expenditure may have been on the same account. The private resources of the family were heavily burdened for years for this cause, and I have been told that Raja Taroknath paid, as the last instalment of debts incurred on account of Janokee Ram, a lakh and a half of rupees. The Rancee's feelings of hostility against the British rule are pardonable. Her husband for twenty years reigned almost as an independent prince, and after his death, her brother Janokee Ram had maintained an equal state. Suddenly her brother was called upon to pay his revenue with a punctuality never known before, and on default was sent in custody to Calcutta, and she never saw him again. The collections of the estate were taken entirely out of the hands of the family, and even the expense of repairs of the Rajbaree, and the monthly wages of the servants, were defrayed by Government officers without reference to her wishes. The herd of buffaloes belonging to the Rajbaree was sent to the uncultivated part of the district as a public nuisance, and many of the consecrated cattle were sold. The Rancee was not even allowed to take care

of her adopted son, nine or ten years old, but he was made over for education to the manager, Ram Kanto Roy, for whom she had a strong personal aversion. At the same time the income of the zemindaree was being decreased by the abolition of all the illegal taxes and cesses which the Rajas had collected as long as she could remember, and by the determination of Government that the family charities were to be paid out of the privy purse and not out of the imperial revenue as heretofore. She was naturally in no temper to look on Mr. Hatch's reforms as beneficial, or to acquiesce in the action of Government.

In January 1792, Raja Radhanath commenced his sixteenth year and was placed in charge of his estates; Ram Kanto Roy submitted his accounts as manager, and the Board of Revenue expressed themselves highly pleased with his conduct. The Decennial Settlement had been concluded two years before, and the Raja was to pay a yearly revenue of Rs. 14,44,107 for the first two years, and then Rs. 14,84,107. This will give some idea of the extent of his estates, as the total land revenue of the present Collectorate of Dinagepoor is now under Rs. 18,00,000. For a year and more all went smoothly; but when, in March 1793, Mr. Hatch was promoted to a seat on the Board of Revenue, his successor, Mr. John Eliot, soon found reason to be dissatisfied with the management of affairs at the Rajbaree. The Ranee had surrounded the Raja with the old servants of Janokee Ram, the two Mojoomdars and others; and in spite of positive orders from the Board they were turning out the tahseeldars of Mr. Hatch's appointment, and the Raja was receiving sums of money to appoint improper persons in their room. Mr. Eliot found satisfaction in believing that the Raja listened attentively to his advice, but the objectionable changes continued, and he saw no hope of amendment except in the banishment of the Mojoomdars and their company, and sending the Ranee back to Gobindonogor. The Raja admitted signing blank papers and giving them to the amlas to make what use they pleased of them.

In April 1794, the Governor General directed that Raja Radhanath should be deprived of the management of his estates; his seal was locked up in the Collector's treasury, and Ram Kanto Roy was again installed as manager. Mr. Eliot used to make the young Raja come and read to him twice a week and write him a letter daily, and flattered himself that he was fitting him for the duties of his position. In October 1795 Mr. Eliot became Judge of Tippera, and Mr. Morgan, Assistant Collector, was in charge of the office until June 1796, when Mr. Cornelius Bird arrived as Collector.

When Raja Radhanath was for the second time placed in charge of his property is not quite clear, but it was before Janu-

ary 1797, when he already owed Rs. 69,677 on account of revenue, and the decree went forth from the Board to sell some of his lands. The unfortunate young man was then only twenty years of age, but neither Mr. Bird nor the Board appear to have hesitated as to the propriety of breaking up the great Dinagepoor estate. The first sale was cancelled for informality, but in February 1798, in spite of the Collector's certifying that owing to drought the ryots had not been able to pay their rents, further sales were ordered, and yet, at the end of the Bengalee year, April 1798, more than half a lakh of revenue remained unpaid, month after month instalments became due, and lot after lot was sold. The Raja was raising money on mortgage, Ram Kanto Roy being one of his principal creditors, and he saved some part of his estate by purchasing the lots in false names; while his wife Ranee Tripoora-Soondaree bought lands paying a revenue of near Rs. 50,000, and old Ranee Soroswotee bought others paying Rs. 21,517; but little was saved out of the wreck of so great an argosy, for by the end of 1800 everything had been sold, and the Raja was a prisoner, unable to leave the Rajbaree because his private creditors were endeavouring to seize his person and throw him into the common jail. On the 26th January 1801, having just completed his twenty-fourth year, he died. Mr. Bird, who had been the instrument of his ruin, had died on the 3rd June, and Mr. Courtney Smith was now the Collector. Whatever may have been the merits of the policy which broke up this large estate, there can be no question but that it was carried out with extreme harshness. The rule was sternly adhered to, of selling to the highest bidder; Dinagepoor is a long way from Calcutta, Moorsshedabad, Patna, or Dacca, and bears an evil reputation of unhealthiness, and no one from a distance cared to inquire whether the purchase of land in the district would be a good investment. The competition was left entirely to the servants of the estate, to the amla of Government, and to those few zemindars who had not been ruined by the Decennial Settlement, and the consequence was that the lots into which the property had been divided sold for much less than their value, some of them not bringing so much as the annual revenue assessed upon them, which an experience of a dozen years had shown them well able to pay. The only purchasers who were on the spot were unable to bid higher. In one way the Raja derived from this some slight benefit, for a few lots were bought in by the ladies of his family, his wife selling her jewels, and Ranee Soroswotee having as much as Janakee Ram's embasements had left her of her monthly pension of fifteen hundred rupees. Unless it was resolved that the Raja of Dinagepoor was too powerful for a subject, and therefore that as soon

as a pretext offered his estates were to be broken up, which nowhere appears to have been the feeling of Government, it is difficult to see why a fair upset price should not have been fixed on each lot, and if no one bid up to that price, the lot sequestered and put under the management of Government officers. The indirect profits of the zemindars are so much greater than the legitimate ones, which under Government management are all that are carried to credit, that possession of the estate is worth having, and the dispossession indicated would as effectually secure the punctual payment of Government revenue, as the absolute alienation of the estates. The swarm of *lotdars*, many of them absentees, who took the place of the ancient gentry, have not done much for the country.

Raja Radhanath appears to have been a weak young man, worked upon by the old Ranee's stories of the greatness of his family and the advice of interested servants, and to have regulated his expenditure rather by the example of his predecessors who had lived under the lax rule of the Mahomedans, than by the actual income which he received under the strict revenue system of the East India Company. He is said to have been fond of liquor, and once in his cups to have so severely injured a man, that he had to bribe the Police Darogha with a quarter of a lakh to hold his tongue. He was also fond of hunting and riding on horseback, and probably had he always had a man of strong will like Mr. Hatch near him, he might have come to some good, but the people are fond of telling stories of his hatred of the Europeans, and his impertinence to them. Once, they say, the European officers asked leave to occupy a house he had at Shahapoor for a few days' sport. He said the house was in ruins, and at once sent off people to dismantle it, but, as is usual with Dinagepoor work-people, they did not go for some days, and the English gentlemen, who had pitched their tents, saw them deliberately pull the roof off a house that was in excellent order. On another occasion an English officer was calling on the Raja when the mallee came in and gave a nosegay to each of the company; the Englishman after a while began to pick the flowers to pieces, and one of the Mojoomdars who was present laughed, and made a coarse allusion to the habits of monkeys. The insult was so palpable that the Englishman left the Rajbaree in high displeasure, and it is popularly believed that this incident caused an ill-feeling which eventually led to the sale of the Raja's estates. All agree in considering the Mojoomdars, who were Boidyos of Rajnôgor near Dacca, as the persons to whose advice the Raja owed his ruin. It is said that one day, when the enormous load of debt under which the Raja was labouring had become notorious, some of his principal ryots proposed that he should give them an audience

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and state the extent of his difficulties, and promised to help him. The Raja had a tent pitched for the purpose, dressed himself as became a solemn ceremonial, and was on his way to the place when he met one of the Mojoomdars, who ridiculed the idea of his degrading himself by the exhibition of his person before such people, and induced him to relinquish his intention, and with it all hope of extrication from his difficulties.

With the death of Radhanath the history of the Dinagepoor Raj may be said to come to an end. He left no son, but his widow and Ranee Soroswotee continued to live at the Raj-baree. The former adopted a child named Gobindonath, who was not old enough to take possession of the remnant of the family estates until the 9th July, 1817. In the meantime the stout old Ranee Soroswotee managed the property in the name of the heirs of her adopted son. Raja Gobindonath had two sons, one of whom, Troilokhnath, died childless before his father, and the other, Taroknath, succeeded on Gobindonath's death in 1841. Raja Taroknath died in 1865, and left the estates to Ranee Sham Mohinee his widow; she adopted a son named Grijonath, during whose minority she manages the property with the assistance of Baboo Khetro Mohun Singh, who married a daughter of the late Raja. The yearly revenue paid by the estates is Rs. 1,73,240, but whereas the private income of a zemindar paying such a revenue at the time of the Decennial Settlement would have been only Rs. 17,324, it is now near Rs. 1,20,000. When Raja Grijonath comes of age, he will be the principal zemindar in the district; and though not in the position of his ancestors Prannath, Ramnath, and Boidyonath, the people will always look on him as Raja of Dinagepoor.

E. VESEY WESTMACOTT, B A, OXON.,
Bengal Civil Service.

ART. II.—A NATIVE STATESMAN.

- 1.—*Copies of official papers sent from India, touching the recent disturbances in Travancore.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 6th August, 1859.
- 2.—*Selections from the Records of Travancore.* Parts I., II., III., and IV. Printed at the instance of F. Maltby, Esq., British Resident in Travancore.
- 3.—*Reports on the Administration of Travancore.* By Sir Mádhava Ráo—from 1861 to 1870. Printed at the Travancore Sirkar Press.
- 4.—*Indian Journals.*
- 5.—*The "Travancore Gazette."*
- 6.—*Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds.* By C. U. Aitchison, B.C.S.

THE rise of the British Empire in India will, for all time to come, be one of the most wonderful and glorious landmarks in the history of the world. The first English settlers at Surat could have as little had before their mind's eye the Indian Empire of the present, as Æneas and his fellow-settlers had the Empire of Trajan. How from small and humble beginnings the British Indian Empire grew, what overwhelming difficulties and disasters it had to contend against, how vast the achievements of its great Generals and Proconsuls have been, what extensive changes, morally and physically, it has worked out, are all matters of history with which every intelligent reader is familiar. There is one important truth which cannot escape an observant student of history. It is that while the physical monuments, however mighty and stupendous, which the wisdom and prowess of a conquering race may rear up in the conquered land, fade and vanish by the unrelenting process of time, the deep moral leavening effected by civilised conquerors continues to assert itself and fructify. The wall of Antoninus in the land of the Scots is hardly traceable at present; but the substratum in the civilisation of Britain which the great Roman conquerors laid is as visible as ever. Similarly a thousand years hence all material vestiges of British rule in India, our railways, our tunnels, our telegraphs, our bridges, our lighthouses, our dockyards, our barracks, &c., may simply be in the forms of ruins, and remnants interesting to the antiquary; but the steady and all-powerful moral revolution which, by precepts and examples, we are working out, will ever be a living element, and one progressively operative.

Whatever may be the defects in the system and in the management of State education in India, it is beyond doubt that one great result is being steadily accomplished. It is that the people, in so far as they come under the influence of education, do think and reason; and this great spring, when once set in motion, must inevitably produce consequences, the extent and importance of which are beyond prediction. It needs no great efforts to show that the most inviting field to which a mind sharpened and invigorated by education would turn is that of politics. It is particularly so in a land which has for thousands of years been the scene of the most wonderfully great and stirring political dramas, and is at present under the enlightened despotism of a foreign nation. There are alarmists who apprehend not only danger to our sway in India, but the worst evils to its people themselves from this enlivening of political ambition by means of education. Those, however, who have even an approximate idea of British resources and of the moral stamina of British character, will find it hard even to imagine the day when a combined army of Bengális, Púrbiahs, Sikhs, Parsís, and Madrassis, under a Bábu Wellington and a Chetti Blucher, shall be seen driving us at the bayonet's point into the Indian Ocean. But the day may come, though it is as yet indefinitely distant, when the British Government of India shall present to the world the noblest spectacle it has yet beheld, by making over to the people of India, when they shall have fitted themselves for its rule, this magnificent Empire, enlightened and ennobled under British guardianship. If our State education is tending, however imperfectly, towards this consummation, its aim is of the most elevated nature.* And we cannot be oblivious to the fact that such must be its inevitable, if tardy, tendency. The educated natives who have risen to the uppermost ranks, though yet few in number, have done full honour to their nationality, and have been full of promise as to the future success of their countrymen. Any nation may be proud of men of cultivation like Rámprasád Roy, Sambhu Náth Pandit, or Bábu Rájendra Lál Mitra. The sight is even more interesting and encouraging when provinces are seen to rise from anarchy, misery, and ignorance, to order, prosperity, and enlightenment under the magical wand of a Dinkar Ráo, a Salar Jang, or a Mádhava Ráo. The last of these has closed his official career in Travancore, which under him justly earned the title of a "model Native State;" and we propose to present to our readers in these pages the leading features of that career, which can hardly fail to be interesting.

Sir Mádhava Ráo belongs to one of those adventurous Mahatta families which, mingling with the great wave of conquest that during the last two centuries surged to the south

through the Dekkan and made Tanjore the chief outpost of the Mahratta Empire in the south, settled in that part of India. His great-grandfather Gopál Pant, and his grandfather Gundo Pant, held offices of trust both under Native chiefs and under the rising British power. The great events of the latter part of the last century in Southern India, and the rising power of Britain amidst great political struggles, could not have escaped the astute perception of a Mahratta family which had adopted politics as its profession ; and Venkat Ráo, the eldest son of Guundo Pant, cast his lot in the British service. Being recommended by his official superior Mr. Hebron to Colonel McDouall, then Resident of Travancore, he entered the service of that State ; which under an enlightened Lady-Regent and the able statesmanship of Colonel Munro, had been freed from long-standing abuses and had risen high in good government. He soon rose to the highest office—that of Dewan or Prime Minister. He distinguished himself highly in that office, and the works of public utility effected under his auspices bear testimony to the excellence of his administration even to this day. On his retirement from the Travancore service, the Government appointed him to the Mysor Commission ; and Lord William Bentinck conferred on him the title of “ Ráya Ráya Ráya,” an honorific prefix which only one other man* in South India obtained after him. His brother Ranga Ráo stuck more to the British service, but when Deputy Sheristadar of the Board of Revenue, he was called to Travancore, where he rose to his brother's office, and though he held it only for a short period, he was a terror to evil-doers. Soon after his retirement from Travancore he died, leaving three sons, of whom Sir Mádhava Rao is the youngest.

About thirty years ago, Lord Elphinstone, then Governor of Madras, gave an impetus to high English education in Southern India which has borne the happiest fruits. Under the auspices of this large-minded nobleman and a staff of able advisers like Mr. George Norton and Mr. John Bruce Norton—both in their days leaders of the Madras Bar—the “ High School,” or as it was sometimes complimentarily called, the “ University,” was established. Mr. Powell, C.S.I., now Director of Public Instruction, then fresh from Cambridge, where he had earned academic distinction, entered upon his duties with all the hope, zeal, and earnestness of the first tiller of a rich virgin soil. Young Mádhava Ráo had the good fortune to be one of the very first set of recruits that came up to be drilled by this excellent educational tactician. Gifted naturally with the highest order of talents yet

* Thande Narsing Rao, who was of Revenue and retired during Sir Head Sheristadar of the Madras Board O. Trevelyan's governorship.

displayed by India, Mádhava Ráo pursued his studies with an industry, a perseverance, and a singleness of purpose which were fully rewarded. This period of the healthy infancy of English education in Madras was, on a recent occasion, tersely alluded to by the Hon'ble A. J. Arbuthnot, then Acting Governor, in these words :—

" Now, gentlemen, I should be disposed to divide the first* of these periods into two portions, and to take as a distinct epoch the educational measures framed by Lord Elphinstone's Government in 1841. It is due to the memory of that distinguished nobleman ; it is due to those who commenced their labours under his direction ; it is especially due to our friend the Director of Public Instruction, to whom education in this Presidency owes so much, to whose early educational labors the public service of this Presidency is so largely indebted, that we should not confound the period to which I refer with that which immediately preceded it. It was during the period to which I allude that there was being trained up for the kingdom of Travancore, which, for some years past, has been justly regarded as a model Native State, a Native statesman, who first in the capacity of tutor to the heir of the throne, and afterwards in the capacity of minister, has largely aided in raising that State to its present position. It was during that period that there was being educated a native member† of our local Legislative Council, an institution at that time unthought of, who, I am bold to say, whether as regards the uprightness of his character, the excellence of his judgment, the honesty of his purpose, or the independence of his action, has not his superior in any one of the legislative bodies now at work in this great Indian Empire. It was during that period, that our friend Sashiah Sástri,‡ whom we all, Europeans and Natives alike, so highly esteem and value, was being fitted by a liberal education for the performance of those important duties, in which almost from his first entrance into the public service he has been employed, and which he has discharged so faithfully and so well."

Mr. Arbuthnot, himself the first Director of Public Instruction in Madras, who has throughout his official life made education

* Mr. Arbuthnot was here making allusion to a lengthy letter addressed to the Madras Government by Doctor John Murdoch, of the C. V. E. Society, on education generally and a portion of Vernacular literature particularly, in which he expounded the well-meant but barren educational movement of Sir

T. Munro, with the highly fruitful one of Lord Elphinstone.

† The Honourable V. Rámalingar, C. S.I.

‡ Head Sheristadar in the Board of Revenue, and now tentatively Dewan of Travancore in succession to Sir Mádhava Ráo.

his special study, and to whom all the recent educational movements in that Presidency are chiefly owing, carries great weight in all that he says touching education in India. Let us again hear him on the *quality* of education imparted by the "High School" in those days. On an occasion very similar to the one just alluded to, he observed :—

"Of late I have been at the pains of enquiring from persons of experience as to the present state of education, and forming an opinion if graduates who go up and obtain honours are more highly educated than the proficient of the old High School or not ; and from the accounts I have received, I find that the proficient of the old High School are better educated and possess more general information than those who, of late years, have obtained the Bachelor of Arts degree. I believe that students now-a-days find their studies more laborious in consequence of their being confined to certain text-books with the view of passing a certain examination. The effect of this constant application is that it enervates them very much. Another reason is that pupils in the junior classes do not attend as they ought to their instruction, and when they are advanced to the higher classes they are obliged to work more unremittingly, which leads them to the system of 'cram,' which is so much decried in consequence of its being carried to excess."

"We see then that in the days of the High School, "cram" had not laid its iron grasp on the neck of education ; and Mádhava Ráo was one of the brightest of that glorious band of schoolboys, to whom a sound, varied, and impressive education was imparted. His scholastic career extended over about six years, during which he once acted for Mr. Powell for a short time ; which, considering that there were European junior masters of no mean abilities at the time, must be taken as a solid compliment to his worth. In 1846 he received his "First class Proficient's Degree" and Seal from the Most Noble the Marquis of Tweeddale, who had succeeded Lord Elphinstone in the Madras Governorship. Early in 1847 he got an appointment in the Accountant-General's office, in which he continued for a little more than two years.

We must now turn to Travancore, the scene of Mádhava Ráo's successful labours. Mahárájá Mártandavarmah had succeeded his elder brother in the sovereignty of that principality at the end of 1846. The germ of the financial crisis, which afterwards attained no small magnitude, was then budding. Lieutenant-General William Cullen of the Madras Artillery, the "handsome adjutant" of his youthful days, and who in a remarkable manner possessed the chief traits of character of the fine "old Indian," was the Resident-Nawáb at the Court of Travancore. His *protégé*, the amiable but feeble Krishna Ráo, was Dewan

General Cullen, with all his failings, was himself proud of his scholastic attainments, and valued the advantages of education in others. He strongly urged on the Mahārājā the necessity of giving a good English education to his nephews; and recommended the choice of a well-educated man, fresh from his own collegiate course, as tutor to the young princes. Fortunately for Travancore, there was not wanting a precedent for the introduction of a foreigner, under the auspices of the British Government, to educate the Princes of the State. Subhā Rāo, also a native of Tanjore, entered the Travancore service as English tutor to the three young princes, almost simultaneously with Venkat Rāo, whom long afterwards he succeeded in the Dewanship. Subhā Rāo owed his first appointment to Colonel McDouall. With a view to procure a competent tutor, General Cullen naturally made a reference to Madras; and the choice being left to the then leading men there, as Mr. Daniel Elliot, Sir Henry Montgomery, Mr. George Norton, &c, it unanimously fell, at a lucky moment for Travancore, on young Mādhaba Rāo. All of them highly recommended him to the Mahārājā through the Resident; and Mādhaba Rāo's noblest aspirations were stirred at the prospect of making his *début* on the stage on which two of his ancestors had figured so prominently. He took, however, the advice of his best and most discerning friends; and what course they counselled may be gathered from the words of one of them. "I remember, when some years since he was offered the situation of tutor to the young Travancore princes, he came to ask my advice as to his course. After pointing out to him that it was his bounden duty to accept the office, because if he excited in the breasts of those young princes a thirst for knowledge and a love of virtue, he might become the benefactor of millions of his countrymen, I bade him question his own heart, whether he had strength enough to withstand the perils and temptations of a corrupt Native Court. He went; and nobly has he stood the ordeal." * * * * Thus morally fortified he went to Travancore in July 1849, and took charge of his important duties.

Among his royal pupils were the present Mahārājā, and his brother, the First Prince. He continued to discharge these duties for four and a half years. The amount of success which crowned his labours has been admitted on all hands to be equal to the highest expectations. It may be observed that one of his pupils, the First Prince, was made a Fellow of the Madras University a year before Mādhaba Rāo's own admission into the Senate. The Prince was also alluded to in flattering terms by Lord Napier in the Viceregal Legislative

* Speech by Mr. J. B. Norton, late Twelfth Anniversary of Patechappa's Advocate-General at Madras, at the Charities, 1855.

Council in speaking of the late Lord Mayo's earnest endeavours to secure the aid of competent natives in Indian legislation. It is bare justice to the memory of General Cullen to say that he took a very lively interest in the education of the princes and rendered every aid and encouragement. In April 1853, Mádhava Ráo was appointed to a responsible office in the revenue line under the Dewan. This appointment by the Mahárájá was made with the heartiest concurrence of General Cullen.

Turning to the general administration of Travancore at that time, we may say without exaggeration that it in a measure rivalled that of Oudh before annexation. The Blue Book which we have placed at the head of this article presents to us the gloomiest picture which one could expect even in an Asiatic kingdom. The immediate occasion for the publication of the papers contained in it, was the serious disturbances which arose in the southern districts of Travancore soon after the proclamation announcing Her Majesty's assumption of the direct government of India was known to the masses; and when the women of the Shánárs (toddy-drawers) relying upon its pledges of protection and perfect freedom, assumed, contrary to former usage, coverings to the upper part of their persons; and when the Súdías, the higher caste, violently opposed this innovation. But the papers give an interesting *résumé* of the events of some years before this. No. 14 in this collection is a memorandum by the Madras Government, dated March 1858. It begins with saying—"Petitions from Travancore are numerous enough."

"In the year 1855, however, complaints of mal-administration had become so frequent and so urgent, that the Madras Government were led to form the opinion that a formal investigation was imperative. The cases which particularly attracted their attention were eight in number. A *procès* of these eight cases was prepared in October 1856 by Mr. Norman, Deputy Secretary to Government; it follows below:—

A.—Arrears of salaries of public servants.

B.—The memorial of one Emanuel Class.

C.—Petition of the Rev. John Cox.

D.—Petition of the Rev. T. O. Whitehouse.

E.—The Edapilly Murder Case.

F.—Petition of the Rev. F. Baylis.

G.—A joint petition of certain missionaries, complaining that convicted criminals are employed in high offices.

H.—A joint petition from the same, containing more general charges of mal-administration and corruption.

In noticing case A, "the Government did not think the causes assigned for the arrears were satisfactory; they observed that it was admitted that two months' arrears existed, and trusted that

such a state of things would be avoided in future." Referring to case C, the Government observe that—"On the 9th March, 1855, the Rev. John Cox, one of the missionaries in Travancore, forwarded several petitions from native converts, complaining of specific acts of oppression and violence against them as Christians. He complained that the whole of the Sirkar officials, with the Dewan at the head of them, were in league to oppress and insult the Christians; and that the good intentions of the Rájá were neutralised; and that appeals to the Resident were not only useless, but marked the appellant for further oppression. He pledged his veracity, as a Christian minister, that the grossest oppression existed, and that torture so severe as to cause death was practised." One of these petitions was "from Chinnái, the widow of Devasaháyam. It sets forth that her husband, herself, and others, were seized and confined for refusing to sign an agreement, binding themselves to do palace work without pay. Her husband was shockingly ill-treated, and died from the effects of the torture; she and the others were released after six days' confinement in the stocks. It states further, that appeals to the Resident were disregarded." The Resident's explanation on this count was that certain Shánárs, whose duty it was to to serve in the Rání's palace, refused to do so. They were, therefore, called before the Palace Káryakár for enquiry. The Hindú part of the Shánár admitted their fault and were released, but the converts refused to admit their guilt; so they were confined, and six weeks after their release Devasaháyam died of dysentery; they suffered no hardship while confined; they may have been ill-treated in the Palace, but that they were so ill-treated as to result in the death of one of them, is not to be believed.

To the Resident's explanation on this and other points, Mr. Cox put in a rejoinder; and "the Right Honorable Lord Harris considered that 'the case, as stated by Mr. Cox, was very strong.'"

Case E. is the 'Edapilly Murder Case.'

"Edapilly is a petty quasi-independent state in the north of Travancore. The Rajah (a Númbári Bráhmaṇ) and the heir apparent (the 'Velía' and 'Ilaya,' or elder and younger Rajahs) are at feud.

"On the 18th September 1852 some ruffians broke into the house of one Krishnan Elayadam, and beat him so severely that he died within 30 days.

"The house where Elayadam was living was situated in a garden which was the bone of contention between the two Rajahs.

"The case was examined by order of the Dewan, but nothing was proved.

"That result did not please the Ilaya Rajah, who forwarded substantial inducements to the Dewan, who had all the prisoners apprehended, and taken to Trevandrum, 160 miles; then to Quilon, 46 miles; and then to Kalikuttam, 26 miles from Quilon, where there is a small catcherry in a lonely spot. Here the Dewan ordered Muhidin Beg, the Police Duffadar, to torture the prisoners, to extort a confession from them; sixth prisoner was suspended from the hair of his head, and beaten on the neck and chest with a stone. Karulan Govindan, first prisoner, had two of his teeth knocked out in the presence of Vencataramana Ayan; and after four hours of torture, the prisoners all confessed, and were committed to the Trevandrum Criminal Court for trial upon this evidence.

"Sixth prisoner died from the beating, &c., at the door of the Criminal Court; the Dewan refused to give the body to the prisoner's friends (who wished for a *post mortem* examination), and declared that the death was caused by 'bloody flux.'

"The 25th prisoner also died on the 20th June from injuries received. The Criminal Court examined officially the scars on the prisoners, and torture was fully proved to their satisfaction against the Dewan and Venkataramana Ayan.

* * * * *

"A vacancy existing in the Appeal Court, the Resident, on the recommendation of the Dewan, appointed the very Police Sheristadar, Venkataramana Ayan, who tortured the prisoners, and directed that he should be specially appointed to try the case."

Indeed, this case appears to throw into the shade the worst charges against Ali Nukhi Khan of Oudh.

Under F. the Reverend F. Baylis states that, "the Deputy Peshkar does all he can to assist the robbers and oppress the poor, especially Christians."

G. and H. were united petitions from all the missionaries in South Travancore. They reiterated the individual complaints, and embodied many more bearing upon the general oppression, lawlessness, official corruption, and misrule, which had reached their climax. The contents of H. are thus summarised in the memorandum:

"I. The police is a tremendous engine of oppression: for,

(1) Prisoners are confined for very long periods without investigation (at the moment).

(2) Many are acquitted after a long imprisonment, being all the time innocent; some have just been released who suffered five years' imprisonment.

(3) Many are imprisoned without any specific charge; whence release is impossible; no door is open to the cry of the prisoners who

die in gaol, though a monthly return of persons confined is sent to the Resident.

(4) * * * Prisoners are repeatedly tortured in prison.

(5) The Regulations are systematically set aside throughout the country; not only in the Courts but everywhere; appeal to the Resident is vain; he refers to the Dewan, who himself practises all such atrocities, such as false imprisonment, torture, &c., but uniformly shields his subordinates.

(6) * * * * *

(7) Real criminals are suffered to be at large, committing fresh outrages, and intimidating any witnesses of their crimes.

(8) Real complaints are unheeded; nothing can be done without extensive bribery.

(9) The police officers not only receive bribes to let off thieves, but retain the stolen property.

(10) Complaints against Government officials are quite hopeless. The consequences always recoil upon the complainants.

"II. The character of the high Government officials is bad.

(1) Convicted criminals are appointed to the most responsible offices, among which are the Accountant-General and Deputy Peshkar.

(2) Men grossly and notoriously incompetent are posted to high appointments.

(3) And new offices are created for these men.

(4) Every appointment has its price; and when offices are filled by such men, it is no wonder that their official power is abused 'to extort bribes, to pervert justice, oppress the weak, shield the guilty, promote favorites, and amass large private fortunes. * * * *

(5) The Sirkar officials are not paid regularly; of this there can be no doubt, and all the evils inseparable from such a system are entailed upon the people.

"III. * * * The appeal Court is packed. * * * Thus is the whole channel of justice corrupt, and the whole country groans under the pressure of the enormous evil.

"IV. The forced labour system exists to a great extent.

(1) In many cases a nominal equivalent is rendered which is practically worthless. And this state of vassalage is compulsorily perpetuated.

(2) Supplies are in many cases extorted *gratis*; codjans for covering the Sirkar buildings, leaves for the elephants' fodder, bunches of plantains for festivals, fish for the table of the chief Europeans at Trevandrum, &c.

(3) * * * * *

(4) Free men are also pressed into slavery. The palace authorities compelled and do compel men to sign documents, making themselves slaves. * * * This oppression literally consumes the people.

"V. Immeasurable evils arise from the pepper, salt, and cardamom monopoly. * * * They impoverish the people without increasing the revenue, and demoralise and oppress the inhabitants."

On this, the Madras Government made a reference to the

Government of India, in which they said that "considering the very grave charges contained in the petition, corroborated in some measure by the continual petitions from natives of the country, it appeared to them that investigation of some sort was imperative." They sent up the petitions, and also copies of the two Treaties of 1797 and 1805. Lord Dalhousie was Governor-General at the time; and he always condemned half measures which are indicative of weakness. He disapproved the proposal for an enquiry; but instructed the Local Government, under the Ninth Article of the Treaty of 1805, to give to the Rájá a "formal and forcible expression of the sentiments of the British Government on the abuses which appeared to prevail, with suitable advice and warning." Shattered in health by eight years of official toil of an unparalleled nature, the Marquis of Dalhousie was seeking relief in the bracing climate of the Nilgiris, and Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, was with him. It was from this place that the letter of advice and warning, dated 21st November 1855, was forwarded to the Rájá. Though signed by Lord Harris, the letter was full of that imperial ring which could have been imparted to it only by the masterly pen of the great Proconsul. The following is its *précis*, as given in the memorandum:—

"The letter began by setting forth in detail a series of correspondence with the Resident, and numberless petitions from the Rájá's subjects, which had led the Madras Government to believe (that the following evils) prevailed in Travancore—the inefficiency of the police; the venality of the Courts; the demoralising effects of the revenue system pursued; the neglect of public works, and the general misrule. It went on by observing that it had been brought to the ears of Lord Dalhousie; and concluded by stating that in accordance with his Lordship's views, and Clause 9 of the Treaty of 1805, it had become the duty of the Government to call the Rajah's attention, in the most serious manner, to the manifold abuses prevailing in his dominions; to urge an enlightened policy, and to warn him that it was to be feared that the contingency against which Article 5 of the Treaty was directed was not far distant, unless averted by timely and judicious reforms; the Rajah was also informed that in carrying out any such reforms the assistance of the Resident was available."

The descent of this thunderbolt created immense stir for the moment in the Rájá's Court. The ancient vaults of the great Pagoda were ransacked, and five lakhs of rupees scraped out—avowedly to pay off arrears of public salaries, and the dues on pepper received from the ryots. But through the wonderful *legerdemain* of Krishna Rao and his satellites, scarcely a moiety of this sum ever reached its destination.

A vague and perfunctory reply, drafted under General Cullen's

correction, was forwarded by the Rájá, in which many of the charges were admitted, qualified by flimsy excuses and explanations, and ready promises of reform given. In the meanwhile General Cullen sent up his own remarks on the petition of the missionaries, in which he took special care to defend his Krishna Ráo. He said—"much blame is unjustly thrown on the Dewan in regard to the state of the finances of the country. * * * The assertion that the Dewan is all-powerful over the Rajah is utterly false; the Rajah can do anything. In Cochin it is different, there the Dewan is paramount." We are fully justified in remarking that if Lord Dalhousie had continued a year more in India, if the great events of 1857 had not occurred and absorbed public attention, and if Krishna Ráo's administration had been prolonged, Travancore would long ago have been one of the richest Collectorates in Southern India. But it was otherwise ordained, and Travancore was spared to become a model of native good government. The Madras Government had, when recommending to the Government of India the institution of an enquiry by a Commission into the charges brought against the Travancore administration, simultaneously made the same recommendation to the home authorities. While the Governor-General rejected this proposal as opposed to the tenor of the Treaty, the Court of Directors strongly advised its adoption. They eschewed, however, General Cullen's proposal to appoint a local and "packed" Commission consisting of men likely to be under his thumb; and said:—"A much more comprehensive investigation than this is absolutely necessary, and though the officers to whom it is entrusted must hold their commission from the Rajah, they should be recommended to him by your Government, and should carry on their enquiries independently of the Resident. Lieutenant-General Cullen must be sensible that he is himself one of the parties under accusation; that he is alleged to be prejudiced in favour of the Dewan, who was introduced into Travancore by himself, and is indebted to him for his high appointment; and that no enquiry in which either the Dewan's instrumentality or his own is employed could be considered a fair one, or would effectually clear the official character of either from even unmerited imputation." This decision of the Court of Directors was communicated to the Governor-General; and in doing so, the Madras Government said:—"It may be proper to remark, in reference to the 9th Article of the Treaty, that practically, the intercourse between the Madras Government and the Travancore State has not been confined to the occasional tender of advice under that Article. The nomination by the Rajah of his Dewan or chief minister is reported for the sanction of Government. The Resident also exercises a general supervision over the proceedings of the Travancore Court.

* * * Annual reports of the revenue and expenditure are submitted to Government, and, especially of late years, these reports and their accounts have been closely scrutinized, and strong remarks made on the subject of expenditure, even to the extent of prescribing the maximum sum, which, however, has never been observed, to be spent in Ootperas and ceremonies." They also said that the proposed Commission "must exercise a minute and searching scrutiny into the entire system of the administration of the Travancore Government in all its branches—into the present condition of the country, and into the past proceedings of the Dewan and Resident." To this reference, and to several successive ones on the same subject, no reply was given by the Government of India; while the Madras Government continued "to receive from Travancore complaints of oppression and maladministration." Lord Dalhousie had left India, and scarcely had Lord Canning time to study the political disposition of India, before the great mutiny broke out in 1857, and absorbed the attention of every Englishman. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that the Travancore question was in abeyance. In the meanwhile, we must go back a little.

During the latter half of 1855, Mádhava Ráo was promoted to the office of Dewan Peshkar, which is the highest in the scale below that of the Dewan. The number of Peshkars at a time would appear to be varying between two and four; and these, at the time we speak of, were all stationed at the head-quarters. While they scarcely did any work of real importance and responsibility, they directed their talents and energies to intriguing against the Dewan, who in turn was ever jealously busy in annoying and impeding them. Mádhava Ráo was soon disgusted with this state of things; and suggested that the Peshkars might be entrusted with the responsible charge of a certain number of Táluks each, subject to the general control of the Dewan. He pointed also to a similar administrative arrangement which had obtained in Travancore previously to the establishment of its existing relations with the British Government. The arrangement was adopted, and Mádhava Ráo was deputed to 'the Southern Division,' comprising the very Táluks from which complaints to the Madras Government had been most frequent and importunate. Accordingly he went thither; and with power scrupulously limited by a jealous superior, began his work of reform steadily. Soon the industrious and peaceful found that there was one who was ready to espouse their cause against oppressors, and the lawless that *their* palmy days of impunity were gone. Mr. Norton observes:—"I cannot pass from the subject without another public mention of Mádhava Ráo, the most distinguished of all the High School *alumni*. His course has long been before the public. After leaving the school

with the highest distinctions and after honourable employ in the service of the Madras Government at the Presidency, he went to Travancore on the invitation of the Rajah, to superintend the education of the young princes. How he discharged that task I happen, so far as one of the princes is concerned, personally to know. And it is a proud satisfaction to think that he has instilled into the bosom of that young man the same love of the principles of justice and honesty as actuate himself. Thence, he was appointed to a post under the Dewan; and during this last year, he has had an independent charge of two districts of the kingdom. How he has administered that important charge I am about to state. I believe that the representations constantly before the public of the state of Travancore are not, in the least, exaggerated—that nothing could be worse than its condition of anarchy, than the entire dissolution of the elements of society. The missionaries have petitioned the Government on the state of misery and anarchy in which the country is plunged. A warning, by no means indistinct, as to the consequences of this state of things, has been conveyed by the Government of Madras to the Sovereign of Travancore. Yet, within the short space of a year, Mádhava Ráo has called forth order out of disorder; has distributed justice between man and man, without fear or favour; has expelled dacoits; has raised the revenues; and his Minutes and State papers show the liberality, the soundness, and statesmanship of his views and principles. He has received the thanks of his Sovereign; he has obtained the voluntary admiring testimony of some of the very missionaries who memorialised, to the excellence of his administration. Now, here is a man raised up, as it were, amid the anarchy and confusion of his country, to save it from destruction. Annexation, looming in the not far distant future, would be banished into the shades of night, if such an administration as he has introduced into two of the districts were given to the whole kingdom, by his advancement to the post of Minister. He is, indeed, a splendid example of what education may do for the Native.”* *

It was not long before the hope so expressed was realised. Even General Cullen could not save his Krishna Ráo from the unrelenting laws of nature. In November, 1857, Dewan Krishna Ráo succumbed to a painful disease. It was during the costly sexennial Murajapam festival in Trevandrum that he died. It was necessary to appoint a person to take up the reins of office immediately. There were two Dewan Peshkars at the time; and of these Mádhava Ráo was the junior. The senior was a native of Malabar; and had, before entering the Travancore service,

served our Government in that Collectorate for many years, and had earned some local distinction as an efficient Police officer. But he did not know English, and was thoroughly a man of the "old school." With the death of Krishna Ráo, General Cullen's good sense returned to him, and he at once recognised the pre-eminent fitness of Mádhava Ráo for the Ministership. So, we find him thus reporting to Government in January 1858.

"I have the honor to report that, immediately on the death of the late Dewan of Travancore, His Highness the Rajah proposed to me to send for the Dewan Peshkar, Mádhava Ráo, who was then in the southern districts and close at hand, for the purpose of taking temporary charge of the cutcherry.

* * * * *

"His Highness has since proposed to me that Mádhava Ráo should for the present be placed in charge of the administration as Acting Dewan, an arrangement in which I have expressed my concurrence and which I hope may be approved of by His Lordship in Council.

"Mádhava Ráo's correct principles, his character for intelligence and energy, his perfect knowledge of English, and the considerable experience he has already acquired in the administration of the laws of Travancore, together with the well-grounded knowledge of the Company's Regulations, all point him out for the office."

* * * * *

The Madras Government approved of this arrangement. At the end of the year the Rájá, with the concurrence of the Government, confirmed Mádhava Ráo in the Dewanship. That concurrence was thus expressed:—"The Government are glad to learn that His Highness the Rajah has shown his approval of the services of Mádhava Ráo by confirming him in the high and important office." It is but due to General Cullen to state that notwithstanding some reluctance on the part of the Rájá, he procured for him uncurtailed powers, and ever afterwards supported him cordially. Soon after Mádhava Ráo's appointment, Lord Harris visited Travancore; and during his Lordship's stay in Travandrum, Mádhava Ráo had long and interesting conferences with him, which while they fully instilled the new Dewan with the views of the Government regarding Travancore affairs, assured the head of that Government that the interests of that State were safe in the keeping of the new Minister. Earlier in the same year the Madras Government informed the Court of Directors that "since the appointment of Mádhava Ráo, petitions from Travancore have much abated both in number and tone, affording good grounds to hope that the administration is, by his exertions, being placed on an improved footing."

Thus Mád hava Ráo entered upon the discharge of his important duties with a zeal, earnestness, noble ambition, and honesty of purpose unrivalled among the natives of India. He was in his thirtieth year ; and certainly in the general run of cases that age might be considered too young for so high a trust. But his extraordinary natural talents, combined with an excellent education and intimacy with men in high circles, had enabled him early to study the great problems of social statics, to value all enlightened and progressive movements, and to form a sound and unprejudiced judgment in a manner more than amply to make up for the immaturity of years. His task was, however, by no means easy or even ordinarily difficult. We have already shown that the entire administration was disorganised. The public treasuries were empty ; and while large arrears of payment in the way of salaries, and money for pepper, tobacco, and other articles purchased by the Travancore Sirkar were accumulating, the land-tax used to be collected often a year in advance. Tobacco of the worst description was often the coin in which pepper was paid for ; and pepper, several years old, similarly fell to the lot of the tobacco contractor, if he happened not to be in the good graces of the leaders of the administration. Five lakhs of rupees had been borrowed from the Pagoda Treasury ; and the Rájá had made a solemn stipulation to replace this sum, *plus* 50 per cent. in the way of lump interest, in equal monthly instalments, in the course of five years. This, together with the subsidy payable to our Government, not to take into consideration other charges, was enough to deter any one from taking up the reins of the administration. The public service, from the top to the bottom, consisted, with few exceptions, of an army of voracious place-seekers, who having obtained their appointments by bribes, were bent upon recouping themselves a hundredfold ; and speculation, torture, false accusation, pretended demands on behalf of the Sirkar, these were the instruments with which they worked out their object. Non-payment of salaries furnished even an open pretext for these malpractices. The courts of justice were so many seats of corruption and perversion of justice. Dacoits and marauders of the worst stamp scoured the country by hundreds ; but these were less feared by the people than the so-called Police. In short, Travancore was the veriest den of misrule, lawlessness, and callous tyranny of the worst description. We advisedly say so, because the very heart of the administration was tainted. The State vessel was drifting at random amidst rocks and reefs, without a chart, without a compass, with shattered sails and broken cables, and above all, without a pilot. It was at the helm of this vessel that Mád hava Ráo was placed. He grasped it firmly ; full of confidence in the sympathy of the enlightened public, full of eagerness to earn

a noble distinction. How he guided the vessel, not only to safety but to glory, we shall presently see. In the meantime, certain events of importance must be noticed.

The disturbances in South Travancore, which arose from a disputed question of costumes, assumed suddenly a magnitude which none could have foreseen. The causes of these were quite beyond the control of the ruling authorities. They were but one of those illustrations of the struggles of the first rays of civilisation against utter barbarism. Popular rights are little known or respected in Native states; and Travancore has long been the *brinepond* of superstition and caste intolerance. Certain castes were restricted to certain modes of wearing their clothes; and deviations from the prescribed modes were jealously watched and opposed by other castes. The women of the *Shánárs*, or toddy-drawers, who abound in South Travancore, and from among whom the Protestant missionaries have for the last sixty years reaped the richest harvest, had been prevented from covering the upper part of their person. Acting upon the advice of Colonel Morrison, then Resident, the Ráni Regent had so far modified this restriction as to permit the wearing by *Christian* *Shánár* women of the *Kuppáyam* (a sort of shirt). The mutual jealousies between the *Shánárs* and the *Súdras* were dormant for some time, but the Queen's Proclamation of November 1858, on the assumption of the direct government of India, renovated those feelings. In the whole range of official literature, in the English or any other language, there is not a State Paper expressing nobler views or entitled to greater admiration than Her Majesty's Indian Proclamation; but at the same time we make bold to say that no State Paper has given rise to more divergent constructions. The *Shánárs* imagined that it permitted them to infringe existing rules; while the *Súdras* equally considered it as sanctioning their taking the law into their own hands to repress what they took as an aggression into their caste domains. Serious affrays ensued, and these were aggravated by the gratuitous interference of petty *Srkár* officials whose general standard of capacity and moral worth we have already alluded to. Public peace was imperilled. In January 1859, General Cullen reported to the Madras Government that "there is a very disturbed state of feeling at present in the south of Travancore on a matter of caste, i.e., as to the kind of dress to be worn by the women of the different castes." Further on he said—"In communication with the Dewan, I, a few days ago, sent to the south 100 men of the Nair Brigade under an European officer, to support the civil power, and which I hope may be sufficient, as the Dewan also proposes going there to ascertain on the spot the exact state of matters." Five days afterwards he again wrote and said:—

"A letter from the Dewan, dated yesterday, and received this morning, informs me of a report of the Shánárs across the frontier in the Tinnevely district collecting there with a view to enter Travancore to join the Shánárs, and plunder the villages along the frontier. A letter from the Valliyúr Thasildar (Tinnevely) rather corroborates the report; I have communicated the information to the Magistrate of Tinnevely.

"A party of 50 men of the Nair Brigade have been detached to Soosheendrum, and the Dewan is desirous to have an additional 100 men of the Brigade at his disposal, and I have accordingly directed the Officer Commanding the Brigade to hold them in readiness."

On the 12th February, Dewan Mádhava Ráo reported to the Resident thus:—

5. "On the 14th ultimo, I reached Patmanabhapuram. A detachment of the Nair Brigade had already arrived there on the 11th. I was followed by Captain Daly, who was put in command of all the troops in the Southern Districts. The troops were moved where mischief was apprehended. The Police was further strengthened in different places; auxiliary police officers were appointed to keep the peace, and speedily inquire into and dispose of Police cases, which were of course expected to be numerous at the time. Some minor Sirkar officials, who appear to have acted improperly, were suspended from employment. Some of the leaders of both parties concerned in these disturbances were apprehended; other measures, too, were taken with a view to preserve order. The determination of the Sirkar to exact implicit obedience to it from all classes of its subjects soon became known; and I am happy to add, that without the necessity of resorting to extreme measures having arisen, tranquillity has been restored." He said further:—

"As regards future arrangements, I think it desirable that the detachment of the Nair Brigade, now in the south, should continue there some little time longer. The additional Police establishments should also be continued. A re-arrangement of officials in certain localities will be necessary; about which, however, I may write to you at another time. I may also submit in a very few days my plans for better organising the Police of the whole country.

8. "The authority of the Sirkar having been vindicated, it may be desirable to take an early opportunity to consider what modifications should be made in the Proclamation of 1004, so as to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances."

The agitation subsided gradually under a firm but considerate policy. The Rájá conceded, not without pressure from the

Madras Government, of which Sir C. Trevelyan had become the head, liberty of dress to the Shánárs. Sir Walter Elliot, then Member of Council, considered the Dewan's report "to be a temperate and fair statement." The Dewan, however, had to carry out the wishes of the Government under the orders of a Rájá, who while possessing many amiable and even sterling qualities, and often successfully simulating enlightenment, was an ultra-conservative; and of a Resident, who could not realise the moral advancement of the world of near half a century, and who seldom took a serious view of popular grievances. Hence the concessions made to the Shánárs were piece-meal; and naturally petitions complaining of caste intolerance continued to be sent up to the Government. Any Governor would have taken serious notice of these; but Sir C. Trevelyan was one whose spirit soon burst all bonds of patience. It was also about this time that the Government of India replied to the several references from the Madras Government, recommending an enquiry by commission into the affairs of Travancore, which had not received attention during the mutiny. They objected to a Commission, but advised the suspension of the Resident, and the appointment of an officiating Resident. The Madras Government, while conscious of their power to take this step, did not see sufficient grounds to do so, and said that one of the main objects of the proposed Commission was to ascertain the necessity for so doing. Thus there was an ellipsis of argument, the Government of India deeming the suspension of the Resident a necessary preliminary to all enquiry, and the Madras Government considering that an enquiry alone could show whether suspension was necessary. Sir C. Trevelyan was convinced of the unfitness of General Cullen; and the Indian Government had pointed to the necessity of appointing in his stead "a person of tried and known sound judgment, and one who may be expected to obtain the confidence of all parties." To effect this, Sir Charles thought it best to use moral persuasion. So, we find him writing to the Resident on the 6th May, thus:—

"It is my earnest desire to support the just authority of the Mahárájá in his ancient dominions, and I know what is due to yourself as an old and deserving officer of this Government; but the case now before me is one in which the claims of public duty are of the most imperative kind, and I must therefore desire that you will, without further delay, yield obedience to the repeated orders which have been conveyed to you, and report in detail what you have done in consequence of the resolutions of this Government communicated to you on the 27th January and on the 14th of March last, and what the Mahárájá has done in consequence." General Cullen soon found from this, and perhaps also other correspondence of a more privileged kind, that the anti-

quarian inclinations of the new Governor were not strong enough to support an 'Old Indian' against public interests.

He accordingly did "yield obedience," and retired at the end of 1859. The new year brought with it a new Resident. The Madras Presidency affords little or no field for the development of diplomatic talents; and its services, both civil and military, have seldom been adorned by men of distinction in this line. But this general void only made Mr. Francis Maltby shine all the more. He was every way fit to represent the British Government in a Native Court. His great official experience, his eminent talents, his excellent literary powers, his warm and generous heart, his humane sympathies, his keen sense of honour, his love of truth and justice, his abhorrence of all that was mean and morally sinuous, and his polished and persuasive manners, formed a happy combination rarely seen. A deep and self-humiliating, but unobtrusive, religious faith ran through every vein of his moral frame. His commanding person, his noble mien, his rare but mild and sincere smile, his well-weighed and slow-flowing speech, and even his deep bass voice, were externals which immensely added to the dignity and effect of the whole character. It was on him that Sir Charles Trevelyan's choice worthily fell. Early in 1860, he went to Travancore and relieved General Cullen. About six months after Mr. Maltby's appointment, the late Mahārājā died. The Rājā had left four nephews; and according to the Malabar law of succession, the eldest of these would have succeeded him in the sovereignty. But he was found to be completely demented from an early age. Two modes of settling the succession presented themselves to the notice of the Madras Government. These were: first, a complete supersession of the *de jure* heir and the installation of the next in seniority in full sovereignty; or, secondly, the establishment of a Regency and the placing of the heir presumptive at its head. The decision of the Government, in a very great measure, depended upon the opinion of the Resident. Mr. Maltby carefully weighed the respective merits of the two proposals. He had before him a not very remote precedent of a Regency in Travancore itself. He, however, perceived the evils which would arise from an indefinite Regency and the consequent unsettled state of the public mind. He also calculated upon the great benefits which would accrue from the increased amenability to the advice of the British Government on the part of a native potentate who might be expected to ascribe his attainment of sovereignty, partly at least, to that Government. He, therefore, strongly recommended the installation of Prince Rama Vurmah; and the Madras Government, with the concurrence of the Government of India, sanctioned it. Accordingly, on the 19th October, 1860, the present Mahārājā was installed. And under a young and amiable sovereign, free

from the bonds of self-imposed conservatism, and with a Resident of high character and abilities, Sir Mádhava Ráo's administration attained unimpeded progress.

In noticing the features of an administration, the point which pre-eminently presents itself to our attention is its financial policy. It has already been shown how the finances stood in the days of Mádhava Ráo's predecessor. With all the oppressive and demoralising monopolies and other petty vexatious taxes, the total revenue seldom went up to even 40 lakhs. We subjoin a statement of the yearly receipts for nine years beginning from 1861-62 :—

1861-62	...	...	Rs. 4,323,687.
1862-63	...	...	" 4,754,898.
1863-64	...	...	" 4,310,727.
1864-65	...	...	" 4,211,140.
1865-66	...	...	" 4,480,634.
1866-67	...	...	" 4,482,819.
1867-68	...	...	" 5,188,944.
1868-69	...	...	" 5,085,645.
1869-70	...	...	" 5,154,007.

We regret that we have not before us the statement of revenue receipts from the very beginning of Mádhava Ráo's Dewanship ; but it must be remembered that before Mr. Maltby's advent these Administration Reports never saw light. If we could have presented it, the contrast would have been greater. But the figures above given will show, without any comments from us, the buoyancy which the master hand of the new Dewan gave the revenues of Travancore. But the debit side must be considered. The very first act of the new reign was the abolition, under Mr. Maltby's advice and Mádhava Ráo's assurance, of the pepper monopoly. Pepper is a staple peculiar to the Malabar Coast, of which Travancore forms a part. It had for a very long time been one of the chief revenues of the State. "The pepper of the Malabar Coast had, from the earliest times of the Company's trade, formed one of the chief articles of export. On the 28th January 1793, the Rájá entered into an agreement (No. LII.) known as the pepper contract, to supply a large quantity of pepper to the Bombay Government for ten years, in return for arms and goods."* Pepper had been so important an item in the revenue system that the branch of that system which embraced all the State monopolies and royalties went under the designation of the 'Pepper Department.' The amount annually realised by this monopoly, while it formed a very appreciable portion of the State revenue, was not very large, taken in itself. Dewan Krishna Ráo, in his memorandum†

* Aitchison's Collection of 'Treaties, &c., vol. v., page 293.

† "Selections from the Records of Travancore." No. III.

drawn up in 1841-42, when first introduced into the Travancore service, gives interesting information on the pepper monopoly as well as other points. From the tables given in it we gather that, taking an average of ten years, 4,531 kandies of pepper were annually purchased from the ryots for Rs. 1,49,587, and 5,655 kandies were sold for Rs. 3,27,177. The average sale value is Rs. 60 per kandy, and thus the 4,531 kandies give Rs. 2,77,460, from which deducting the cost, we get Rs. 1,27,873 as net revenue, which is comparatively a small sum. But monopolies are always thought elastic, and great hopes are placed in them in a mere financial point of view. The great oppression which the pepper monopoly gave rise to, and the decidedly incommensurate revenue derived from it, pointed to it as the first of the monopolies to be abolished or modified. Mr. Malthus was determined to expunge it. He would not have been able to do so, if Mádhava Ráo were not bold enough to bear the loss of revenue. But the latter was enlightened enough to realise to himself the spirit of the age, and was confident in his own abilities. Thus, the pepper monopoly was sent whistling in the air with one stroke of the bat of the master cricketer. An export duty of 15 per cent. *ad valorem* was imposed in its stead. This was again lowered first to 9 per cent., and ultimately to 5 per cent., the general level of export duty.

Next in order we come to the tobacco monopoly. This source of revenue was incomparably greater than that of pepper. It, indeed, took in Travancore the place of the opium monopoly in British India. The abolition of this monopoly, of course, entailed a proportionately large fiscal sacrifice. We cannot do better than quote from Mádhava Ráo's Report for 1863-64.

"The important fact may be announced at the outset, that the tobacco monopoly of the State was finally abolished in the year under review.

"It may not be out of place here to give a summary of the measures taken by His Highness' Government in recent years in respect to this important source of revenue, culminating in the abolition of the monopoly.

"It may be premised that in regard to the consumption of tobacco, Travancore may be regarded as divided into three circles, namely, the southern, the central, and the northern. In the first of these Tinnevely tobacco is chiefly consumed, in the second that of Jaffna, and in the third that of Coimbatore.

"The monopoly system was open to objection for the double reason that the mode of deriving the revenue was in itself opposed to sound fiscal principles, and that the taxation of the commodity was carried too far in reference to the power of the Sirkar to counteract the operations of the smuggler,

"The evils of the system, under these circumstances, could at no time have escaped observation; but when the tobacco monopoly in the British districts of Malabar, Canara, and Coimbatore was abolished in 1853, the difficulty of maintaining the monopoly in this State much increased.

"The consequence was a rapid decline of the revenue on Jaffna tobacco. In the year 1032 (Koliam era), the year previous to the appointment of the present Dewan, the consumption of Sirkar tobacco of Ceylon growth was 1,444 kandies, while in 1024 it had stood at 2,485 kaudies.

"But no reforms in the system, however desirable, could be attempted at a time when the public finances were suffering from *extreme* depression. All that could be done was to work the existing system itself with more than usual vigour and strictness, to check abuses, and to exact the largest revenue towards the rescue of the State from its perilous financial position.

"Under such a treatment, the revenues rose again, as the following statement will show:—

Malayalam year.	Kandies.
1032	3,460
1033	3,818
1034	4,405
1035	4,765
1036	3,941 (Famine year)
1037	4,376 (Ditto)

"The time then arrived for inaugurating reforms earnestly. The finances of the Sirkar were much improved, and action was no longer delayed.

"The first step was to lower the monopoly prices. They had stood thus:—

	Rate per kandy.
Jaffna tobacco	Rs. 431
Tinnevelly do.	" 266
Coimbatore do.	" 168
and were reduced as shown below:—	
Jaffna tobacco	Rs. 252½
Tinnevelly do.	" 168½
Coimbatore do.	" 105

"This, it will be seen, was a considerable fall, and could not but operate to cut off largely from the profits of smuggling, and to bring tobacco more within the reach of the consumers.

"But, be it noted that this reform was limited to reduction of taxation, but did not extend to the *system*, which was still that of a monopoly. Hence an opportunity was taken not long after to attack the system itself. Instead of the Sirkar purchasing tobacco from contractors on its own account and selling it by

retail to its subjects, it was declared open to all dealers to import tobacco on their own account, provided they paid the following import duty :—

			Per kandy.
Jaffna tobacco ...	...	...	Rs. 190
Tinnevelly do. ...	...	...	„ 140
Coimbatore do. ...	...	...	„ 65

“ In consideration of the pressure of the duty, importers are allowed by the Sirkar the privilege of keeping their goods in bond, a privilege without which the trade could never have prospered. But it was yet desirable to lower the duty, which the Sirkar was glad to do in reference to the handsome surplus revenues left in its hands at the end of 1038. So in about the middle of 1039 (the year under review) the Sirkar reduced the duties to the undermentioned scale :—

			Per kandy.
Jaffna tobacco ...	...	...	Rs. 140
Tinnevelly do. ...	...	...	„ 100
Coimbatore do. ...	...	...	„ 65

“ A still further reduction has been made in the current year.” * * *

That reduction was as follows :—

			Per kandy.
Jaffna tobacco ...	...	...	Rs. 120
Tinnevelly do. ...	...	...	„ 85
Coimbatore do. ...	...	...	„ 40

And we find that while in 1856-57, the last year of Krishna Rao's administration, 3,460 kandies were, under the full swing of the monopoly sold, and brought in a net revenue of Rs. 8,48,978 ; in 1869-69, the import duty on 8,150 kandies brought in a revenue of Rs. 8,36,684. Thus, while a world of the most heinous crimes was made no longer possible, while their still worse demoralising influence was removed, while trade was largely unfettered, and while the innocent enjoyment of a luxury by the million was favoured, the loss to the Sirkar was brought down to the paltry sum of Rs. 12,294. If this is not a great financial success, what is ? In 1864-65, we find that—

“ Upwards of 100 minor taxes ” were abolished “ at an annual sacrifice of about Rs. 8,500.”

“ The land-tax in Nánjinád having been found to range excessively high, a maximum of 10 *kottahs* of paddy per *kottah* of seed land was fixed, and to this standard all excessive taxation was reduced, involving a loss of revenue to the extent of about Rs. 15,000.”

Another very important financial measure carrying with it great fiscal relief remains to be noticed. “ In the middle of

A Native Statesman.

1863-64, the export and import duties were reduced all round."

"Then again, in the year 1864-65, the Commercial Treaty between the British Government and the Sirkars of Travancore and Cochin having been concluded, duties were very largely removed.

"The relief resulting to trade with Travancore from this treaty may be thus particularised :—

"1st.—Travancore duties on goods imported from or through British Indian or Cochin Sirkar territories have been, with a few exceptions, removed. This relief alone may be estimated at Rs. 1,20,000.

"2nd.—The British Indian duties on the above goods, so far as they used to be levied, have also been taken off.

"3rd.—The Cochin Sirkar duties on the same have also been taken off.

"4th.—The duties which the British Indian Government used to levy on the goods imported into British India from Travancore have likewise been resigned.

"5th.—The duties of the same kind which the Cochin Sirkar used to levy on the Travancore goods imported into its territory, or in transit through it to British India, have been similarly surrendered.

"Trade has thus been freed from taxes, doubtless amounting to some lakhs of rupees."

In consequence of this interportal arrangement, there ensued a very considerable fall in the Customs revenue. While in the year 1862-63 this item showed a revenue of Rs. 5,30,443, in 1869-70 it stood so low as Rs. 3,63,822. It should be mentioned that, by the interportal agreement, the British Government has engaged to pay a fixed sum annually in the way of compensation to the Travancore and Cochin Sirkars. The British Indian tariff of valuations was also universally adopted. With what elasticity trade has risen under the above arrangements will be seen by noticing that in 1861-62 the exports were to the value of Rs. 3,544,653, while in 1868-69 they went up to Rs. 7,276,200, showing an increase of more than cent. per cent.

Under the interportal agreement an evil was certainly inflicted on the people of Travancore, *viz.*, the enhancement of the price of salt. No financial argument, founded though it may be on statistics, can morally justify this heavy tax on a strict necessary of life; and it is not chimerical to hope that a future Cobden or Wilberforce will bestir the humane sympathies of the British Government to remove this burden from the poverty-stricken masses of India. Travancore was comparatively taxed lightly in this respect; but owing to British interference, the people of that State have been laid under this the worst of all indirect taxes.

We cannot hold Mádhava Ráo responsible for this, but we yet think that it was in his power to protest against it strongly.

It has already been noticed elsewhere that when the State had been brought to the very brink of bankruptcy during the late reign, and when Lord Dalhousie caused a significant warning to be sent to the late Rájá under the Treaty of 1805, a sum of five lakhs of rupees had been borrowed from the Pagoda to meet the exigencies of the time. In 1862-63, "a sum of Rs. 1,57,000 was paid, completing the discharge of the liability. The sum originally borrowed was Rs. 5,00,000. The interest due on the principal amounted to half as much. The whole sum of Rs. 7,50,000 has been paid off." And Mádhava adds, with excusable pride, that "Travancore has no public debt now."

The whole administrative agency had, when Mádhava Ráo came to power, sunk into a state of utter decrepitude. One main cause of this was the extremely low level of public salaries. Neither the morality nor the efficiency of the service could be improved without raising those salaries to a respectable standard. Also a numerical increase of public servants was but an inevitable necessity of a rapidly progressive administration. Hence, the expenditure of the State in this direction rose, year after year largely. The following statement will show the extent of that increase :—

Year.		Civil salaries.
1861-62	...	Rs. 5,90,935
1862-63	...	590,578
1863-64	...	6,51,055
1864-65	...	6,19,177
1865-66	...	6,88,549
1866-67	...	6,90,945
1867-68	...	7,84,390
1868-69	...	8,02,762
1869-70	...	8,50,430

In this, the Police establishment alone stood in 1861-62 at Rs. 61,264, and in 1869-70 at Rs. 1,33,242; and the Judicial branch of the service cost in 1861-62 Rs. 85,206, and in 1869-70 Rs. 1,54,969. So in the Police the increase during these nine years was more than cent. per cent.; and in the Judicial establishment not much below that ratio.

The above statement, however, does not represent the aggregate of all civil salaries. In the report for 1868-69, a comparative statement of civil salaries between the year 1856-57 and 1868-69 is given, which shows that in the former year they amounted to Rs. 7,73,222, and in the latter to Rs. 11,68,699, presenting an increase of Rs. 3,95,477, or slightly more than 50 per cent.

Excepting a good but select English school, and a good masonry bridge at Trevandrum, both education and public works were non-

existent before Mád hava Ráo's ministry in Travancore. Captain Horsley, while in charge of the British District, was occasionally referred to for professional advice; but it was in 1860, that a separate Civil Engineer was employed and a department organised to execute works of public utility. The State expenditure under these two heads, for the nine years from 1861-62, stood thus:—

		<i>Public Works.</i>	<i>Education, Science and Art.</i>
1861-62	... Rs.	2,70,549	...
1862-63	... ..	2,17,380	...
1863-64	... ..	2,60,169	...
1864-65	... ..	4,76,305	Rs. 57,039
1865-66	... ..	5,61,448	.. 56,036
1866-67	... ..	5,54,750	.. 69,127
1867-68	... ..	5,65,021	.. 81,399
1868-69	... ..	6,05,661	.. 87,331
1869-70	... ..	9,69,801	.. 1,14,545

For the first three years we miss the disbursements under Education, &c.; but we suppose the item was so small that it merged into some other one. But the figures given show that the expenditure has doubled during six years under this head, and trebled under that of Public Works, in nine years.

Travancore is perhaps the most priest-ridden Native State in the whole of India; for although in other States large sums are frequently squandered on the Bráhmans and other religious and mendicant classes, those expenses depend on the will, or rather caprice, of the rulers of those States. But in Travancore the ruler himself is not his own master in religious matters. Certain heavy expenses have *inevitably* to be incurred in the performance of appointed ceremonies, besides the current one of feeding *gratis* all Bráhmans *all the year round*. These, together with others of a more domestic nature, have been both numerous and costly during Mád hava Ráo's 14 years' administration. When it is considered that the Rájá himself is not able to do away with these, it is evident enough that Mád hava Ráo could do little beyond preventing unauthorised appropriation of the money spent on them. But the drain on the public treasury is not the less deserving of consideration. The following figures are taken from the Administration Reports for the nine years, showing the usual and extra religious and ceremonial expenses.

1861-62, Utpuráhs or feeding-houses	...	Rs.	3,08,476
Marriage of the Junior Ráni	...	..	30,076
1862-63, Utpuráhs	...	..	3,16,939
1863-64, Ditto	...	..	2,95,192

Carried over Rs. 9,50,683

	Brought forward	...	Rs.	9,50,665
1863-64,	The Murajapam Ceremony	...	"	1,63,611
"	The <i>Pulikudi</i> of the Junior Ráñi	...	"	2,659
1864-65,	Utpurahs	...	"	3,06,869
1865-66,	Ditto,	...	"	2,84,550
1866-67,	Ditto,	...	"	3,02,337
1867-68,	Ditto,	...	"	2,87,517
1868-69,	Ditto,	...	"	3,13,117
1869-70,	Ditto,	...	"	3,21,572
"	The Murajapám Ceremony	...	"	1,94,752
"	The Tulápurushadánam (or weighing with gold) Ceremony	...	"	1,61,177
"	The Sacerdotal Thread Investiture of the young prince	...	"	20,690
And we may add—				
	The Hiranyagarbham (or golden Lotus) Ceremony in 1870-71, about	..	"	1,60,000
	Ditto ditto Utpurahs, about	...	"	3,00,000
Total				Rs. 37,69,534

This shows an average annual expenditure exceeding 3½ lakhs of rupees. We have omitted the Pagoda expenses. The Pagoda lands and endowments were taken into the hands of the Sirkar in the time of Colonel Munro's Residency; and thereafter the revenues of those lands were incorporated with those of the Sirkar, and the expenses met from the public treasuries directly. It may yet be observed that the annual expenditure under this head is 5½ lakhs of rupees in round numbers.

Now, we have seen that Mádhava Ráo's administration started with an empty treasury encumbered with a heavy debt. The great monopolies were abolished, numerous minor taxes removed, and the Customs duties materially reduced; all this involving a sacrifice of several lakhs of public revenue. Not a single pie was *added* to the taxation, excepting in the case of salt, the responsibility of which rests entirely with the British authorities. Public salaries have been immensely increased to secure honesty and efficiency. Many lakhs of rupees have been spent upon Public Works, Education, and Medical dispensation. Costly ceremonies have been performed, and religious and charitable institutions have been maintained. And yet with all this Mádhava Ráo has come out, year after year, with a handsome surplus. Year after year, the Madras Government has justly belauded his financial success. In 1866, the Secretary of State remarked thus:—

"The financial results of the administration of Travancore for 1864-65 are, on the whole, satisfactory, and the surplus of

Rs. 1,90,770, by which the revenue exceeds the expenditure, appears to have been secured, notwithstanding heavy reduction of taxation, under the enlightened and able administration of the Revenue Department by the Dewan Mádhava Ráo. This surplus is all the more gratifying that improvements, carried out in some cases at considerable expense, have been introduced into other departments of the administration, and that public works have by no means been neglected."

Large cash balances resulted from this able administration, and in 1865-66, Mádhava Ráo wrote:—"This healthy state of the finances is, obviously, in itself, the greatest possible security to the Paramount Power for the punctual payment of the stipulated subsidy; which has, hitherto, been paid with unerring certainty on the appointed date, though it is the largest subsidy paid to the British Indian Government with but one or two exceptions. But the State has deemed it prudent to hold thirteen lakhs of rupees in the British Indian Loan, and thus to make that security still stronger. It is therefore plain that every care has been taken to fortify this State against any unpleasant contingency arising from possible difficulty of a temporary character in the fulfilment of its obligations to the British Government." There cannot be a more practically triumphant response to Lord Dalhousie's "warning" of 1855, that "the contingency against which Article V. of the Treaty is directed is not far distant." And in Mr. Norton's words, Mádhava Ráo assuredly "banished annexation into the shades of night." Mádhava Ráo's financial administration is simply admirable. In his more limited sphere in Travancore he has accomplished, with no rigorous measures, all that the great Indian financiers have done for British India only with the aid of the income-tax and other highly unpopular impositions.

We can only hastily glance over the other but no less important reforms accomplished during Mádhava Ráo's ministry. The administration of justice had been simply shameful, and the Police an engine of oppression and of extortion. In the year 1861-62, the Civil Procedure Code of British India (Act No. VIII. of 1859) was, with a few alterations, adopted in Travancore. The "Penal Code" and the "Criminal Procedure Code" soon followed. The salaries of the judges were largely increased. In 1864, one of the best native judicial officers in the Madras Presidency, and a school-fellow of Mádhava Ráo, Mr. M. Sadasiva Pillai, then Principal Sadar Amin of Madura, was appointed as Chief Justice of the Sadar Court of Travancore. In moral rectitude, in judicial experience, in mature and dispassionate judgment, in the correct comprehension of the aim of legislation, and in powers of application, he has not his superior among the natives of India.

Travancore owes to him no small debt of gratitude for the great reforms which he, with the co-operation of Mádhava Ráo, has effected in the administration of justice. For the Zilla Courts, too, judges, duly qualified by regular legal studies, were in time appointed. The duration of suits in the Courts was brought down to the lowest standard consistent with soundness of justice. Qualified vakils were admitted to plead; while formerly there was no recognised bar, and the haphazard vakils were, in the generality of cases, no better than so many pickpockets. The law of limitation was introduced from British India, in a slightly modified form. In 1869-70, the average delay in the disposal of criminal cases was but seven days in the Courts of Travancore. The Registration Act of British India was also introduced in 1866-67; and its benefits in a country, where petty holdings of land abound, where forgery is almost a normal concomitant of transactions in these, have been incalculable. The department is worked with efficiency and success. The number of moonsiffs was almost doubled, each of the 32 táluks now having one. The jurisdiction of these, as well as of the zillah judges, was much enlarged, and they were invested with powers to decide small causes finally. On the whole, the judicial administration has evinced marked improvement. It is, no doubt, yet susceptible of still further advancement; but it should be remembered that the Dewan has little or no direct authority in that branch of the administration, and the powers of general control of the Chief Justice are anything but plenary.

The Police has, from the beginning of his administration, received the best attention of Mádhava Ráo. In 1861-62, he announced that it was in contemplation "to organise a Police Force somewhat on the plan which has been pursued in the Madras Presidency." The wants of the Police Department were: "1st, increased pay; 2ndly, increased strength; and 3rdly, more method and discipline." These were attended to in due course. We have already seen that the increase of salaries in this department was more than cent. per cent. The salaries of the Tahsildárs, which had been shamefully low, were raised to a respectable standard. But no increase of pay could ensure that attention on the part of the Tahsildárs to Police duties which was necessary; simply because with the innumerable calls on their time on account of revenue, religious, Civil, Commissariat, and a thousand and one other duties, it was physically impossible. To meet this want Police Amins were appointed in such places, which, for want of a better phrase, may be called the *criminal head-quarters*. The chief towns in the country were placed under the care of special Police Superintendents. The more heinous crimes have vastly decreased; so much so that in 1869-70, out of 19,796 cases disposed of, during the year only 310 cases had to be com-

mitted to the Criminal Courts. Petty offences, as petty litigation, must generally be on the increase as society becomes more and more complex. Mádhava Ráo says :—

“Among minor complaints, those relating to landed property are numerous, as they must be in a country where agriculture is the chief occupation. It is not so much that violent trespass is often committed. But a dispute about right of possession or property occurs, and the Police officer is appealed to forthwith ; both parties often taking care to arrange a few harmless preliminaries just to give the case the appearance of a proceeding cognizable by the Police authorities.” This is done because the summary decision of the Magistracy is far less costly and tedious than a regular civil suit. There are now (1869-70) 70 officers and 1,597 constables, besides village watchmen. The most notorious offenders have been apprehended, and organised crime no longer exists. Life and property are secure ; and the strong arm of protection of the Sirkar is confided in by the people generally.

The land revenue for the nine years from 1861-62 stands thus :—

1861-62	...	...	Rs. 14,63,793
1862-63	...	...	„ 16,34,142
1863-64	...	...	„ 16,51,208
1864-65	...	...	„ 16,45,470
1865-66	...	...	„ 16,40,455
1866-67	...	...	„ 16,77,654
1867-68	...	...	„ 16,69,316
1868-69	...	...	„ 16,88,580
1869-70	...	...	„ 16,66,950

This source of revenue is perhaps the least elastic for obvious reasons. But the revenue must rise as the consequence of a new general survey and settlement, which is one of the measures which Mádhava Ráo has, for want of leisure and proper professional agency, not been able to accomplish. The land-tax is very moderate in Travancore, in most cases below one-fourth of the net produce. Unlike our Government, the Sirkar does not claim to be the lord of *all* lands. More than half of the cultivated lands belong to private lords and to pagodas. The Sirkar lands are called Sirkar *Pathám* lands. These paid *rents*, and were, in former days, subject to frequent and arbitrary enhancement of rents. Nothing was easier for one ryot than to dispossess another of his land of this sort by offering to pay a higher rent. This great want of security of possession operated to the marked deterioration of the lands, and to the consequent fall in their saleable value. In 1864-65, a notification was issued by the Maharájá to the effect—

"That the Sirkar hereby and for ever surrenders for the benefit of the people, all power over the following classes of lands *
 * * * the tax of which is understood to be fixed till the next survey and assessment.

"That the ryots holding these lands may regard them fully as private, heritable, saleable, and otherwise transferable property.

* * * *

"That the holders of the lands in question may rest assured that they may enjoy them undisturbed, so long as the appointed assessment is paid.

"That the said holders are henceforth at liberty to lay out labor and capital on their lands of the aforesaid description to any extent they please, being sure of continued and secure possession."

* * * *

And in Mádhava Ráo's words: "The ryot in possession of Pat-hám lands may hereafter feel that, in effect, *he* is the landlord. He can regard the lands as his own property; and the wholesome feeling of ownership thus generated, is obviously of inestimable value." Hand in hand with this wise measure, improved rules for the sale of waste lands were introduced; and year after year, the industrious ryots have been reclaiming waste lands. But perhaps the most noteworthy item is the extension of coffee cultivation. Before Mádhava Ráo's ministry, there was not a single coffee planter in Travancore working in earnest. In 1868-69, "the number of estates owned by Europeans was 50, containing in the aggregate about 14,700 acres. This of course, is apart from the estates and gardens owned by natives both on the hills and in the plains." In the next year "there were about 16,000 acres devoted to coffee cultivation." "Almost all land available for coffee between the extreme south of the mountain range and Agastiar Peak has already been taken up. But between this Peak and the extreme north, there is abundance of land available." In 1869-70, 16,991 cwts. of coffee valued at Rs. 3,38,800 were exported, and paid a duty of Rs. 16,942. Along with coffee the rival staple of tea has begun to flourish in the Travancore mountains; and the samples sent home lately were pronounced very good by connoisseurs. At Peermade the Sirkar has a cinchona garden. It has received professional visits from Mr. Clement Markham, Mr. Melvor, and Dr. Cleghorn. We subjoin the following interesting statement:—

No.	BOTANICAL NAMES.	COMMERCIAL NAMES.	NUMBER OF PLANTS.	HEIGHT OF THE TALLEST.		GIRTH NEAR THE GROUND OF THE THICKEST.	GIRTH 5 FEET ABOVE GROUND OF THE THICKEST.
				ft.	in.	Inches.	EST.
1	C. Succirubra ...	Red bark ...	2,952	19	10	22	13
2	C. Micratha ...	Grey bark ...	341	18	0	12½	7½
3	C. Peruviana ...	Finest grey bark ...	109	15	4	12	7
4	C. Nitidæ ...	Genuine grey bark ...	66	7	10	7½	4½
5	C. Condamonia ...	Rusty crown bark ...	74	12	1	9	5
6	Cinchona ? ...	Name unknown ...	10	9	4	6½	5

The cocoanut palm is pre-eminently the characteristic feature of the coast vegetation of Travancore. Almost every part of it is of use. There are millions and millions of these trees in Travancore. In the year 1868-69 the exports of the produce of it brought in Rs. 1,74,097 to the Sirkar's exchequer.

Thus, while great impetus has been afforded to extended cultivation of lands, taxation has been kept under very moderate bounds, and security of possession and freedom of transfer have been fully guaranteed.

We must now turn to public works. No public measures carry with them that popular sympathy and appreciation among oriental nations which great works of public utility do. The ancient glory of India yet lives in the fragmentary remnants of its public works, particularly those appertaining to agriculture. Travancore, in its olden days, had its full share of such works. There are no less than three large granite *anicuts* in South Travancore, all more or less damaged by process of time, owing chiefly to the almost entire absence of regard to mechanical principles in their construction. They, nevertheless, bear ample testimony to the genuine public spirit and the noble ambition of the rulers of those days. There is a tiny irrigation channel connected with one of these dams, of which almost a mile passes through heavy granite cutting. An interesting anecdote is related of this cutting. The Râja of the time (he died in 1758) was personally superintending the work. He was anxious to have it soon accomplished; and one day, he sent up every available man, including his personal attendants, to work at it. Only one man remained with him to hold his umbrella. Even this man was relieved at last, the umbrella being fixed in a hole which the Râja caused to be bored in the rock on which he sat. The hole is pointed to with love and veneration even to this day, as an interesting relic.

There is a very useful chain of natural lagoons affording internal water-communication in Travancore. These were in two or three places isolated near Trevandrum; and Dewan Venkata Ráo, Mádhava Ráo's uncle, had, during the regency, connected them with some 20 or 25 miles of canal. Since his time no public works of any magnitude could be said to have been accomplished, excepting the single masonry bridge, to which we have already alluded. It was in 1860 that a regular Department of Public Works was formed. Unfortunately, frequent changes in the head of that department have marred its vigour and unity of purpose. Nevertheless, large sums of money have been spent as already seen, and very satisfactory results achieved. One of the earliest of these is the splendid lighthouse at Aleppy, off which port the sea is generally smooth. Its erection and fitting up with "an illuminating apparatus of the most improved construction" do great credit to Captain Crawford, the efficient and veteran Commercial Agent of the Sirkar. The only road which Travancore had was the trunk line from the capital to the southern extremity, a distance of a little more than 50 miles. This was in so utterly bad a state that carts could not pass during the monsoon and several months after it. This was thoroughly repaired in 1861-62 at an outlay of Rs. 30,000, and has annually been carefully attended to. A network of branch roads, extending in all to between 100 and 150 miles, has been opened in South Travancore of late. A splendid road with very easy gradients has recently been made connecting Quilon with the District of Tinnevely across the Gháts, and traffic has already begun to flow by it in a most marked manner. Two other ghát roads, one running to the Agastiar range directly from Trevandrum, and the other from Aleppy to the Peermade range, have been opened; also a road from Trevandrum northwards crossing and connecting these ghát roads. These trunk roads measure several hundreds of miles, and are constantly kept under repair. Besides these and a tissue of roads in the town of Trevandrum, many lines of unpretending but useful village roads have been made under the direction of the revenue authorities. A costly navigation canal has been excavated in South Travancore, but it remains an isolated work and is only locally useful. By far the most gigantic work yet undertaken is the connecting canal across the "Varkalai barrier." To quote Mr. Barton, the Chief Engineer:—"This scheme was projected 40 years ago, and since at frequent intervals was reported upon and proposed to be undertaken. * * * It has received unusual criticism, but has at last received the approval and sanction of His Highness' Government. * * * The scheme is to complete the line of water communication which (with the exception of this single barrier) exists from Trevandrum

northward to the ports of Aleppy and Cochin, and the whole of the Northern Districts of Travancore and the Railway station near Beypore, a distance of 228 miles." The scheme consists of extending the existing water communication on both sides by deep cuttings in the hard laterite soil, and of boring two tunnels where the crust is too deep for thorough cutting. The cuttings are nearly finished, and the tunnelling is actively progressing. There is every promise of a successful issue of this grand scheme. The length of the larger of the two tunnels will be 1,000 feet, and the tunnels will be lined with masonry. The estimated cost is 4½ lakhs; but the actual cost may, at least, go up to half as much more.

A splendid iron girder bridge, supported by well-wrought granite basements, has just been opened at Kuliturai in South Travancore. Smaller bridges of the same sort have been put up by scores all over the country. The lagoons have been lit up in several places by means of beacon lights. A large and spacious range of public offices, and a fine Civil Dispensary adorn the capital. A commodious College house is approaching completion. Numerous District Kacharies, Court-houses, School-houses, Hospitals, Thannahs, &c., have been constructed and are under construction. Mr. Barton, the able and energetic Chief Engineer, deserves every praise, while Mádhava Ráo has ever been able to afford an unstinted supply of funds. It is only irrigation works that have been somewhat backward, though by no means quite neglected. This must be attributed mainly to paucity of competent agency. But in the aggregate Mádhava Ráo can, with pride, point to the great and enduring works which have been undertaken during his ministry, and which have inestimably enhanced the material prosperity of the country.

If the public works in Travancore owe to Mádhava Ráo so much, education owes to him still more. There was but one English school worth the name in the whole of Travancore; and as for vernacular schools there were none. Alive to the great importance of education, as exemplified in his own case, he strove ceaselessly to extend its benefits in Travancore. We have seen how, year after year, the State expenditure under this head has been increasing. The old English school at the capital was greatly enlarged; three European masters, two of them graduates of English and Scotch Universities, were appointed; the standard of education raised, and the whole institution better organised. It is now divided into a Collegiate Department, a Junior Department, and a primary school. In 1869-70, the College showed on its rolls 133 students. They are trained to the University examinations even up to Bachelor of Arts' Degree. The Junior Department contained upwards of 400 students. The primary or

preparatory school contained 180 students. As feeders to this central institution there are 16 district English schools spread over the country, showing an aggregate average daily attendance of 1,222 boys. It is noteworthy that "the Christian element already preponderates and appears to be gradually enlarging." These schools, valuable as they are, could not be expected to reach the masses. So, in 1865-66 the great scheme of vernacular education was started; and the Mahārāja's sanction for an annual outlay of Rs. 20,000 obtained. A central school was opened at Trevandrum, and hand in hand with it a Normal School to train teachers. In time district schools were opened. These now number 31, and at the end of 1869-70, contained 2,426 boys taught by a staff of 101 teachers. Besides these, there are two Girls' Schools in Trevandrum, one in Quilon, and another in Patmanavapuram. The girls in one of the Trevandrum schools have shown so much intelligence that it may be mentioned that some of them work sums in simple equations. As an indispensable adjunct to these vernacular schools, new Malayalam books in the form of translations of elementary English educational works had to be produced. For this a Book Committee was established; and it has turned out a valuable series of books containing sound knowledge in chaste language. Its able and learned President deserves prominent mention. In 1870-71, the system of vernacular education has been still more extended. A scheme was started to open in each Proverti, or sub-division of a taluk (of which there are upwards of 250 in the country), an elementary school; many of these have already come into existence; and allowing the low average of 30 boys in each school, there will be more than 7,500 boys educated in them, in the whole country. The whole department was, till lately, under the masterly management of Mr. Sankarasubbeir, than whom the Travancore service does not contain an abler, more zealous, or more conscientious officer.

Hand in hand with education, medical dispensation has been progressing very usefully. There are a large Civil Hospital, a Charity Hospital, a Lying-in Hospital, and a Lunatic Asylum in Trevandrum itself. There are about ten District Hospitals, besides Jail Dispensaries. In 1869-70, the total number of patients who received medical aid in these was 46,019. The Medical Department practically evinced the great skill and assiduous application of the Durbar Physician, Doctor Æneas Ross. Vaccination is also satisfactorily carried on under a special Superintendent. In 1869-70, 56,593 persons were vaccinated.

We are tempted to dwell upon many more interesting features of Mádhave Ráo's glorious administration of 14 years, but want of space forbids us. However, we must make one more quotation from the last of Mádhave Ráo's Administration Reports. He

says :—" In conclusion, it may be briefly observed that it is the cherished aim of His Highness' Government to provide for every subject, within a couple of hours' journey, the advantages of a Doctor, a Schoolmaster, a Judge, a Magistrate, a Registering officer, and a Postmaster. The various departments concerned are steadily progressing towards this consummation." Indeed, he found Travancore in the lowest stage of degradation and political disorganisation. He has left it "a model Native State." He has done a great work. He has earned an imperishable name in India.

It has already been said that the Madras Government have, year after year, been congratulating Mádhava Ráo on his administrative success, and that even the Secretary of State accorded to him high eulogy. It may also be added that the State papers drawn up by him on special subjects, such as Interportal duties, the Boundary question, Territorial interchange, Criminal Jurisdiction over European offenders, and so forth, have elicited approbatory notice from British authorities. Both the late and the present Sovereigns of Travancore have, on various occasions, recorded their high satisfaction. Successive British Residents have borne high testimony to his excellent administration. In 1862, when he visited Madras in company with the Mahárájá, he was appointed a Fellow of the Madras University. When he next visited Madras, following his sovereign, who proceeded thither for his investiture with the Insignia of the 'Star of India,' he received his own knighthood. Lord Napier of Merchistoun, after investing Sir Mádhava Ráo, addressed him thus :—

"Sir Mádhava Ráo,—The Government and the people of Madras are happy to welcome you back to a place where you laid the foundation of those distinguished qualities which have become conspicuous and useful on another scene. The mark of Royal favour which you have this day received will prove to you that the attention and generosity of Our Gracious Sovereign are not circumscribed to the circle of her immediate dependents, but that Her Majesty regards the faithful services rendered to the Princes and people of India beyond the boundaries of our direct administration, as rendered indirectly to herself and to her representatives of this Empire. Continue to serve the Mahárájá industriously and wisely, reflecting the intelligence and virtues of His Highness faithfully to his people.

"The mission in which you are engaged has more than a local and transitory significance. Remember that the spectacle of a good Indian Minister serving a good Indian Sovereign is one which may have a lasting influence on the policy of England, and on the future of Native Governments."

The spectacle, however, was not destined to be very long lived. In April last Sir Mádhava Ráo tendered his resignation to his

sovereign. We need not stop here to enquire into the causes of the resignation.

We can well leave them to be guessed by those who have a correct insight into the internal economy of Native States, and the moral influences seething in them. It will also be remembered that an administrator, particularly of an Indian principality, has daily to refuse favours by hundreds. Be it, however, mentioned to the credit of the Mahārāj that he has settled an adequate pension of Rs 1,000 per month on the retired Minister.

We must diverge a little here, and observe that the chances of a native ruler's choice of his minister falling on a person of Sir Mádhava Ráo's high character, independence, and abilities are very few indeed. The British Indian Government cannot for a moment absolve itself from the responsibility of securing by every legitimate means, good government to the millions who reside in Native States. Every subsidiary treaty in India contains a clause empowering that Government to advise, and binding the native potentates to pay "the utmost attention" "at all times" to that advice. The Madras Government said in one of their letters to the Government of India, "that practically, the intercourse between the Madras Government and the Travancore State has not been confined to the occasional tender of advice under that article. The nomination by the Rájá of his Dewan or chief minister is reported for the sanction of Government."

The most thorough-going friends of Native States and enemies to annexation strongly urge upon our Government to advise Native Princes on administrative affairs generally, and particularly to strive to introduce educated natives of high and independent character into their services. When treaties empower advising, when men like Lord Dalhousie have practically endorsed that provision of the treaties, when the staunchest friends of native chiefs like Major Bell strongly urge it, there cannot be a shade of doubt as to the necessity and propriety of that course. And in what respect can that advice be better given than in the choice of a minister? It is well to show a generous confidence by leaving a chief to name his minister; but it is certainly necessary to reserve the privilege of vetoing that selection if the nominee does not enjoy the *fullest confidence*. If we are correctly informed, the Madras Government has ably managed the question of appointing a successor to Sir Mádhava Ráo.

Sir Mádhava Ráo is still in the prime of life, being under 45 years, and having a good and hardy constitution. Administrative work has been almost a second nature to him. He can well be under harness for ten years more. He had an offer of a seat in the Viceregal Legislative Council during Lord Napier's short viceroyalty; but he declined accepting it, owing, we sup-

pose, to a degree of nervousness about venturing into the climate of Northern India, encumbered with a large family. He had also an offer from Mahārājā Holkār when his connection with Travancore was about to cease. This too he declined, and we think very properly.

The British Government may yet profitably make use of Sir Mádhava Ráo, by entrusting to his administrative care a few districts in some of the Non-Regulation Provinces. The Assigned Districts of Hyderabad were formerly under a separate officer, but now are under the Resident, who has abundance of work without them. The districts are accustomed to be administered by native officers; they cannot be placed under a better native statesman than Sir Mádhava Ráo. Side by side with Sir Salár Jang it would be an honour for him to work. There would be a noble competition between two of India's greatest indigenous statesmen—a competition which would be watched with the greatest interest and the highest expectation, by every true friend of India.

ART. III.—BENOUDHA.

PART II.

VIKRAMADITYA reigned eighty years,* a prodigious length of time for a single individual, an usurper above all, to occupy a throne. And yet, strange to say, he is not singular in this respect, for a second example of the same kind is to be met with among his contemporaries, and it is in no other than Vikramāditya's shadow, Kadphises himself! † The coins of the numismatic monarch, as in space they demand more than a single province, so in time refuse to be confined to the duration of an ordinary reign. Lassen allows them just eighty-five years, ‡ a term almost exactly equal to that accorded by the fable to Vikramāditya.

The difficulty of so long a reign in the case of Kadphises disappears before the hypothesis that there were more kings than one of that name. Why should not the same key be applied to the solution of the same difficulty with respect to Vikramāditya? Wilford, indeed, found himself able to string together such an assemblage of facts as to constitute eventful lives for no less than *eight* Vikramādityas. § The inference that has been drawn from this circumstance, however, is not that there were so many, but that all the stories connected with them are alike open to suspicion. But if there be nothing more conclusive against them than their number, we recognise no reason whatever for depriving any of them of their existence; we know of nothing to force us to the conviction that there was but one personage of the name; we are acquainted with several arguments in favour of there having been more than one. If, we may ask, all the best authenticated events in the lives of several modern kings, namesakes of each other, were arranged in chronological order on grounds independent of the recorded dates of the kings themselves, would it be incumbent on us to cast doubt on any or all of those events, simply because they could not all be crammed into the limits of a single life-time. We think not; and are accordingly disposed

* Fyzabad Report, p. 7.

† As we have alluded to Gondophares, we may cite him as another instance. His name bears an almost literal identity to the designation of the king mentioned in certain old church-legends as the ruling potentate of India at the time of the mission of St. Thomas the Apostle; that is, as a legendary being his date

is later by many years than the commencement of our era; as a numismatically-certified monarch, he belongs to a date prior to our era.

‡ Prinsep II., 215, Edr.'s note.

§ Kadphises I. nach 85 vor Chr. G. Kadaphis etwa bis 60 v Chr. G. Kadphises II. seit 24 vor Chr. G. bis etwa 1.

§ Fyzabad Report, p. 7.

to favour the notion of a multiplicity of Vikramādityas. We are then able with the legendary as with the numismatic monarch to explain the long period of his alleged reign by the supposition that it has to be distributed over two or more successions.

We by no means go so far as to say that all Wilford's Vikramādityas ruled over the same provinces or in direct succession. We should certainly find it difficult to assign them all places among the sovereigns of Ayodhyá. Nor again, Kadphises being no more than a title expressive of local connexion, does it by any means follow from the identity of one Vikramāditya with one Kadphises that the two terms are commonly convertible. What we do insist upon is that the unity is established of two individuals, and that the designations they bear being epithets rather than proper names, dynastic rather than personal, the unity extends to the dynasties they belonged to; that the octogenarian Vikramāditya is one with the Yuchi Kings of Kapisa!

No less remarkable than the length of Vikramāditya's reign was the way in which it terminated. "According to tradition, "Rajah Vikramāditya ruled over Ajudhiá eighty years, and at "the end of that time he was outwitted by the Jogí Samudra Pal, "who having by magic made away with the spirit of the Raja, "himself entered into the abandoned body." * Here there is a little confusion, and just of the description we must be constantly on the watch for in weighing the credibility of unwritten records; it blends into one two perfectly distinct events. The Jogí's trick undoubtedly bears reference to the story of Nandivardhana already quoted. It was Nanda, not Vikramāditya, whose body the Jogí entered, and it was "Nanda's being just dead" that suggested the trick.

The name here given to the Jogí alludes to a perfectly different occurrence which will come under notice presently. We ourselves, however, venture to be sceptical as to either the Jogí or Samudra Pal having taken any part in wresting Ayodhyá or Benoudha from Vikramāditya. He needed neither ghost come from the grave, nor spiritual foe of any kind; there were antagonists enough of flesh and blood for him to measure strength with.

We have styled Vikramāditya an usurper; and we have done so without hesitation, because we do not recollect having ever seen the assertion that he was the rightful and hereditary owner of Ayodhyá. As a preliminary, then, to his restoration of that city, it was indispensable for him to obtain possession of it; and we cannot imagine that the then lords of it, the Buddhist priests, tamely acquiesced in his appropriation of it and submitted without a blow. Here, probably, we commence to discover Vikramāditya's

adversaries. The picture, that presents itself to the mind's eye is that of Ayodhyá, the theatre of religious war; and we fancy we detect therein the beginning, in Eastern India, of those sanguinary and devastating contests which attended the revival of Bráhmaism and its struggles with the creed of Buddha. "Ayodhyá," says Mr. Carnegy, "is to the Hindu what Mecca is to the Mahomedans and Jerusalem to the Jews;"* and it is easy also to believe that, while it was in the hands of the Buddhists, it was regarded by the votaries of reviving Bráhmaism much in the same light as Jerusalem was by the Christians of the middle ages, a holy city defiled by the occupation of the infidel; and thus Vikramáditya's expedition against it partook of the character of a crusade.† Nor was it a religious movement alone that was then inaugurated; it was accompanied, according to the legends, by another, a re-migration, similar in its nature to the famous Return of the Heraclidae of Grecian history.

For Vikramáditya was a Ponwar, a Kshatriya, and thus served to sow the seeds of a social as well as a religious revolution; he and his army were the prototypes of the re-migrant Kshatriyas of later ages. The Bráhmans, with cunning ingenuity, brought to bear upon the champions of their faith the two most powerful influences that can act upon the human mind, patriotism and religion; and the soldier of Vikramáditya, as he marched against Ayodhyá, was animated with the reflection that he had in view the noble purpose of recovering at once the

Ashes of his fathers,
And the temples of his gods.

Of Vikramáditya's other enemies, Saliváhana was the most famous. The contest between them forms an almost inseparable part of their legendary histories. The Bais clan, who claim descent from Saliváhana, still nurse the recollection of their ancestor's victory over Vikramáditya, and tell how "his amusement was "to make clay figures of elephants, horses, and men-at-arms, and "before he had well reached manhood he led his fictile army to do "battle with the great King Bikramajit. When the hosts met, "the clay of the young hero became living brass, and the weapons "of his enemies fell harmless on the hard material. Bikramajit "fled, and took refuge in a large Shewála, whither he was

* Fyzabad Report, p. 5.

† Vikramáditya was according to the legendary accounts a zealous Hindu. As identical with Kadphises he was Yuchi; and "the Chinese annals describe to" "us the Yuchi as zealous Buddhists;" but of "Azes, Kadphises, the Kauer-

"his, no really Buddhist coin has "been discovered. It must there- "fore be left undecided whether "the Chinese reports did transfer to "the Yuchis what was only correct "to maintain as of a part of them." Lassen's Coins, p. 183.

"pursued by Salivahana. At the mere sound of the boy's voice, "the ponderous gates of the temple rolled back, and Bikramajit "acknowledged his conqueror with appropriate homage. A reasonable arrangement was made on the spot for the partition of "the royal power." *

As Salivāhana was a Buddhist, we have here apparently another holy war. The last sentence of the quotation probably chronicles accurately the partial disruption of Vikramāditya's empire; but, as Salivāhana has been identified with the great Andhra family of Sātakarni,† it may be assumed that the attack which led to this result came from the south, and that Ayodhyā was not part of the territory ceded to Salivāhana.

Let us now see how matters stood towards the west. Archaeologists‡ tell us, that in the first century of our era, a Naga dynasty established itself in Bharatpur, Dhalpur, Gwalior, and Bandelkhand, perhaps also part of Mālwa, as *Ujjain*, Bhilsa, Sagar, or nearly all between the Jamnā and upper Narbaddā, the Chambal and the Kayān or Cane. From this we can gather why "after Vikramāditya we hear nothing of the empire in Ujjayini,"§ and how Vikramāditya's power came to be crippled in the west; but we know also that in the east the sway of the Nagas never extended to Ayodhyā.

As then, neither Salivāhana nor the Nagas succeeded in expelling Vikramāditya from Ayodhyā, we have no resource but to despatch a third force against him. Magadha might, perhaps, be a promising base of operations; but a more northerly position appears preferable, Kapila for instance. We have already seen that it may have been a residence, perhaps the capital, of the Buddhist kings; and in after ages it is known to have become an important and independent state. We shall do well then, to keep steadily in view such data as may be forthcoming concerning it in seeking and sifting material for the history of Benoudha. Let us see what we can ascertain respecting it at the period of which we write. We discover one single circumstance to throw light upon the subject, but that is one of peculiar importance. "According to Mr. Csoma de Körös," says Prinsep, "the name of Kanishka occurs in the Tibetan works as a celebrated king in the north of India, who reigned at Kapila." The same writer, it is true, speaks of Kapila as being in Róhilkhand or near Hardwār, which would remove it far enough from Ayodhyā; but General Cunningham,|| on the other hand, places the two cities in much closer propinquity, and pronounces that Nagar

* Bennett's Clans of Rai Bareilī III., 1865.

p. 6.

† Anc. Geog. p. 526.

As. Soc. Journal. Part I, No.

‡ Lassen, p. 181.

• § Prinsep, L., 38.

|| Anc. Geog. s. v. Kapila.

or Nagar Khas in the northern division of Oudh* beyond the Ghagra river, and therefore in Kosala, possesses very strong claims to be identified with the ancient city of Kapila.

This is, at it were, a bridge over a narrow but otherwise impassable gulf; but once over it we need no longer complain of dearth of matter for argument or conjecture. Kanishka was King of Kapila; and if we question Prinsep further we shall find that Kanishka belonged to a Sakyan dynasty, of *Indian origin*. If we refer back a few pages, it will be seen that some centuries earlier a Saka dynasty ruled over Ayodhyá, and that Kapila was in their dominions. Again, if we consult Lassen's list of Kings,† we shall learn that Kanishka belonged to a dynasty that succeeded the Yúchis; and the same author corroborates the statement that the Kanerkis (partly at least) took possession of the dominions of the Kadphises‡. The same conclusion is pointed to by the juxtaposition of the coins of Kanerki and Kadphises in Ayodhyá, in Sultánpur and in other parts of India. These remarks apply to Kanishka, and if, as Prinsep surmises, Kanerki and Kanishka are one with the locally famous Kanak Sen,§ they hold equally good with regard to Kanak Sen; what is true of Kanishka is true also of Kanak Sen. All these facts collectively amount to this, that numismatically speaking, the expulsion of the Yúchí Kadphises from Ayodhyá was effected by the Sakyan King Kanishka of Kapila; or which is the same thing interpreted into the language of tradition, it was no other than Kanak Sen by whom Vikramáditya was deprived of his kingdom, Ayodhyá being at the same time re-annexed to Kapila.

Kanak Sen, like Vikramáditya, ceased to hold Ayodhyá before his death; he is said to have migrated to the Panjáb,|| and thence to Gujarát, where he founded the Vallabhi dynasty. Now we know that Kanishka's kingdom embraced much of the Panjáb; and with this fact before us, the direction of Kanak Sen's migration demands particular attention. In the first place, it constitutes an additional argument in support of the identity of Kanishka and Kanak Sen; but its principal importance lies in its guiding

* What is here meant by the northern division of Oudh is explained by the following passage:—"Ayodhya was the capital of Benoudha, or Oudh to the south of the Ghágra, while Sravasti was the capital of Uttara Kosala, or Oudh to the north of the Ghágra." *Anc. Geo.* s. v. *Sravasti*.

† Prinsep, II, 177.

‡ Lassen's *Coins*, p. 125.

§ We imagine that in the legends.

Kanak Sen rather represents the whole dynasty of Kanishka, than Kanishka alone, just as we have argued that one Vikramáditya represents a dynasty. At the same time, we think it very possible that Kanak Sen was actually identical with the famous Kanishka, and the actual emigrant from Ayodhyá, though not the actual founder of the Vallabhi dynasty.

|| Prinsep, I, 283.

as simultaneously towards the head-quarters of both Kanishka and Kadphises, and so assisting us to perceive that the struggle between the legendary heroes on the east was closely connected with the strife between the numismatic monarchs on the west. We might, perhaps, be justified in believing that we discern here one of those mighty waves of conquest which have from time to time swept over India; starting from Ayodhyá, it gathered strength and volume as it proceeded, to burst in full force and overwhelm the Yúchi power in the north-western corner of the country.

In supporting Kanak Sen's pretensions to the throne of Ayodhyá, we follow both traditional and numismatic testimony; and so to be consistent we should make his lineage agree with that described in both those sources of information. One of them, however, makes him belong to the Solar races, the other indicates a Scythian origin. This is at first sight rather startling, but it need not disconcert us; we have seen precisely the same thing happen with regard to Sakya Muni, for the line of Sakya has been seen to have been grafted on the Solar stem as far back as the time of Suddodhana his father. This being the case, the question presents itself to us whether so similar an account is given of the origin of two different Saka Kings of Kapila in consequence of an independent error regarding each, or whether the one necessarily follows the other. The unscrupulous distortions of fact, occasionally perceptible in Bráhmanical records, permits the conjecture that Kanak Sen was just as little connected with his so-called predecessors in the Solar line as Suddodhana Rájá was with his; and that the one and the other were groundlessly misrepresented to be of Solar origin simply to gloss over changes of dynasty and conceal the vicissitudes of fortune which Ayodhyá the Blessed had experienced. But if the legends and genealogies be accepted as correct, they suggest a train of very different reflections, and tempt us to take a rapid retrospective glance over the history of the six preceding centuries: they tend to show that Kanak Sen was the descendant in a direct line of Suddodhana and Sakya Muni; that during the long interval embraced between the establishment of the Seshnágs on the throne of Magadha and the commencement of the Samvat era, while the doctrines of Sakya Muni were being rapidly diffused over the most distant regions of Asia, his descendants still retained their temporal power and regal position at Ayodhyá or Kapila, and that they were the same with the Buddhist priests who "it has been affirmed were then masters of Ayodhyá, and who "recognized" the Kings of Magadha as their nominal chiefs;"* that their line terminated with Sumitra, the contemporary of Vikramáditya † for whom it was reserved to compel them to

evacuate Ayodhyá ; * and that when after some years, Vikramáditya in turn had to resign his conquest, it was to a descendant of Sumitra, and no other than Kanak Sen.

Kanak Sen is said to have "migrated" from Ayodhyá. But princes are not in the habit of becoming emigrants and throwing up one crown simply to seek another, so long as they find it possible to retain the one they have in present possession ; so we may conceive that Kanak Sen's "migration" is merely an euphemism for his forcible expulsion, *i.e.*, from Ayodhyá ; we are not at present speaking of any other part of his dominions. We must, however, see whether there were any causes at work in his vicinity calculated to lead to this result. We readily find one so sufficient in itself that we cease to look for more. First let us examine one or two dates. Kanak Sen's foundation of a dynasty in Gujarát is dated A.D. 141 ; but we think it will be conceded that there is ample room for doubt whether the emigrant and the dynastic founder were absolutely identical, and the two events, the Alpha and Omega, of Kanak Sen's history occurred in one and the same generation. Some time must be allowed for his sojourn in the Panjáb ; and, unless kingdoms were more easily acquired at that period than would appear probable from the number of rivals who were then contending for them, some further period must have elapsed between his departure from the Panjáb and his establishment in Gujarát. The exact duration of these intervals it is impossible to determine with certainty, but we may with safety throw back Kanak Sen's migration from Ayodhyá into the first century of our era. Kanishka's date, as fixed by Lassen, is from A D. 10 to 40.

Now it was in the first century that there arose the powerful empire, of the Guptas, the limits of which are thus defined : † "Princes of the Gupta race will possess all those countries, the "banks of the Ganges to Piyága, Saketa and Magadha." From this passage alone we derive proof positive that, at that period, Ayodhyá again became an appanage of Magadha.

Nor are reasons for hostile collision between the two neighbouring states of Kapila and Magadha far to seek. Even Bráhmatal traditions admit that the later Solar princes embraced Buddhism, whence we may infer that it was the religion of Kanak Sen ; and it is indubitable that Kanishka was a warm patron of Buddhism. The Guptas, on the other hand, were conspicuous for their support of Bráhmanism ; not only did they actively encourage the propagation of that creed ; they also signalised themselves by bitter persecution of those who professed the rival faith of Buddhism. Here, then, irrespective of the ever-present motive

* "The age of Vikrama follows Fyzabad Report, p. 2.

† the supposed subjection of the Bud- † Anc. Geo., s. v. Srávasti, quoted by Marshman, p. 18 ; see also ing Váyu Purána.

of temporal aggrandizement, were causes which might easily induce the one State to take up arms against the other. Diversity of religious opinion, it may be objected, is not necessarily provocative of war : friendly relations, nay, even close alliances, have often existed between states of opposite religions.* But the same causes produce widely different results at different times : their action is directed by the temper of the age ; and it must be remembered that we are now speaking of an epoch notable for the prosecution of those wars of which we traced the commencement in Vikramáditya's expedition against Ayodhyá.

We now arrive at the conclusion that Kanak Sen's exodus from Ayodhyá was more compulsory than the soft term used in legends would imply ; and that it was directly attributable to the nascent power of the Guptas. It is to this event, we opine, that the name of Samudra Pál, above seen to be confounded with that of the Jogí, bears reference ; for Pála is but a synonym of Gupta, and Samudra was one of the most famous of that line. With this event, also, unless we abandon Prinsep's conjecture, we are compelled to associate the cessation of Kanishka's possession of Ayodhyá.

To digress a moment. Sáketa and Pryága are named together in the Váyu Purána as border cities. We have already found them occupying that position once before, many ages previously ; but how great a change has been accomplished in the interval ! They are still landmarks of both religion and political power, but how different is the religious aspect of the country on either side of them ! When we first found them in conjunction, they formed the easternmost boundary of Ikshváku's empire, and of the advancing tide of Bráhmanism, of Bráhmanism in its primitive, pre-Buddhistic form, which in its full development was never destined to pass beyond them, while further East lay the various modes of superstition practised by the aborigines : at the time we write of, on the other hand, on the West throughout the tract where Ikshváku had ruled of old, Buddhism had for centuries entirely supplanted Bráhmanism, while to the East lay one of the principal centres of the Bráhmanic revival !

The boundary line of Sáketa and Pryága was soon obliterated, and this brings us back to our immediate subject. The Guptas speedily encroached on the territories of the Nagas, and reduced those princes to subjection ; for Ganapati, one of their number, is enumerated in the Allahabad Pillar inscription as one of Samudra Gupta's nine tributary princes of Aryavartta. It is probable enough, moreover, that even this does not adequately describe the rapid extension of the Gupta empire. The Saka era, of which the initial year was A.D. 79, is said to have derived its appellation from the defeat and expulsion from India of the

Sakas by Vikramāditya: the hero of this story has been held to be Chandragupta Vikramāditya of Magadha, and the site of the decisive battle-field is still pointed out at Kahrór near Multán. Here, then, we have a predecessor of Samudra leading his hosts almost to the extreme West of India as early as the year A.D. 79. As we have just witnessed the contest of the Guptas with Kanishka for Ayodhyá in comparatively close proximity to their capital, we may, perhaps, trace therein the incipient formation at Palibothra, the capital of Magadha, of a second wave of conquest, that of the Guptas, similar to the one we saw commence its roll from Kapila.

We may here point out, not without much diffidence, a possible reading of this page of history. Kanishka belonged to a "Sakyan dynasty, to which the term Indoscythic very aptly "applies;"* and the Gupta coinage is closely connected with the Indo-Scythic, the former being a direct descendant of the latter. Again, on the one hand we know that Kashmír formed part of the empire of Kanishka, on the other Kalhana Pandit tells a story of the conquest of Kashmír by Vikramāditya, of Srāvastí; and the Ayodhyá legends run that "Rajah Sri Chandar † is supposed "to have been called from *Srinaggár* near Badrí Nath in the "Himalayas . . . and to have established his capital at the place "known by the various names of Bastu, Chandávati, Srāvastí "and Sahet-Mahet, near Ekona in the Bahraich district." We seem to be making a new acquaintance in Vikramāditya of Srāvastí; but we soon discover him to have been a persecutor of the Buddhists,‡ and his probable date to have been about A.D. 79; so that by means of the two particulars of character and date we are tempted to recognise in him Chandragupta Vikramāditya of Magadha. If we are right in doing so, we may credit the Guptas with the conquest of Kashmír. Now, to recapitulate succinctly; Kanishka was a Sakyan prince and ruler of Ayodhyá and Kashmír; Chandragupta Vikramāditya founded the Saka era after a triumph over the Sakas; he drove Kanishka out of Ayodhyá, and conquered his province of Kashmír; the coins of the Guptas follow in direct succession to those of the Indo-Scythic princes. This chain of evidence appears to us to render possible the conclusion that it was in commemoration of the overthrow of Kanishka's dynasty that the Saka era was established, and that the battle of Kahrór was the termination of a struggle which commenced in the neighbourhood of Ayodhyá!

During the whole of the Gupta period, Ayodhyá remained an undistinguished province of the Magadha empire; but towards

* Prinsep, I., 241.

† Notes on Races, p. 25.

‡ Anc. Geo., s.v. Srāvastí.

the commencement of the fourth century A.D., under Budha Gupta, the "dynasty shorn of its high estate was fast verging to "complete extinction." Many of their tributaries simply changed masters and became vassals of the Balhara Kings of Gujarāt ; but we hesitate to say that this was the fate of Ayodhyā for though the Balhara Kings are said to have been lords paramount of India, we can find no such marks of the active exercise of their sovereignty at Ayodhyā as are discernible in connection with their predecessors. Ayodhyā, perhaps, professed a nominal allegiance, but was to all intents and purposes independent. If the subversion of the Magadha supremacy did not lead immediately to the independence of many petty States, it almost certainly paved the way to their creation. Thus, though history is silent about Ayodhyā, we know that in the fifth century, Kāpila had its own king not only autonomous, but of sufficient importance to send an embassy to China ; his kingdom very possibly embraced Ayodhyā. Elphinstone, indeed, would contend that Kāpila here signifies Magadha ; but as he does not state his reasons, it is important to notice that at the time he wrote, numismatologists appear to have considered that the initial year of the Gupta era coincided with the commencement of the Gupta empire, so that the glory of Magadha would have been at its zenith in the fifth century. But it is now more generally held that the era, was introduced by the downfall of the dynasty ; so that at the time of the embassy there was no King of Magadha for whom the King of Kāpila could be intended. In the seventh century, moreover, we know from the testimony of Hwen Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrim, that Kāpila was separate and independent.

By that time, however, the individuality of Ayodhyā had been restored ; and here, indeed, we reach a point where the history of Benoudha ceases to be, as it has hitherto been, wholly identical with that of its capital, for both Ayodhyā and its southern neighbour Kusapura are plainly enumerated by Hwen Tsiang among the seventy States of which India was composed.

• The pilgrim's accuracy on this point has been questioned : the exact measurements of modern times show that there is not sufficient land to furnish forth so many kingdoms of so large a size as he describes. It has consequently been stated that it is almost "certain that several of the minor States should be "included in the boundaries of the larger ones that Vaisākha, "and Kusapura and the other small districts of the Gangetic "Doab, Ayuto, Hayamukha, Kosāmbi and Pryāga were included "in Kanauj ;" and again "in Central and Eastern India all the "different States from Sthāneswara to the mouth of the Ganges, "and from the Himālaya to the banks of the Nerbudda and "Mahanadī river were subject to Harsha Vardhana, the great

"King of Kanoj. He was the paramount sovereign of thirty-six "States." But, for our own part, we venture to dissent from this argument; we rather follow Lassen who says that Hwen Thsang's measurements must be received with caution, as is indeed apparent from the numerous alterations General Cunningham finds it necessary to make in them; for we think it more likely that Hwen Thsang was mistaken in the size of the areas of particular States than in the number of States of which the country consisted; the second point admits of easy ascertainment, the first is much more difficult.

We accordingly adopt, in its entirety, Hwen Thsang's statement as to the independence of Ayodhyá and Kusapura in his time. We believe also that they remained in that condition up to the time of the first Muhammadan invasion. In the interval it was that the power of the Bhars and other similar tribes reached its highest pitch; and legends, our only guide on the subject, are unanimous in describing them to have divided their lands into petty States, perfectly unconnected with each other, and among the best known of them an Ayodhyá and a Kusapura. Such also is the picture of the country at that time sketched by the Emperor Bábar: "All Hindustán was not at that period subject to a single Emperor; every Rajah set up for a monarch on his own account in his own petty territories."

ART. IV.—SELECTIONS FROM INDIAN RECORDS.

Selections from Unpublished Records of Government for the years 1748 to 1767 inclusive; relating mainly to the social condition of Bengal. With a Map of Calcutta in 1784. By the Rev. J. Long, Member of the Record Commission. Vol. I. Published under the sanction of the Government of India. Calcutta. Office of Superintendent of Government Printing, 1869.

THE Rev. J. Long, as a member of the Indian Government Record Commission, has been able, before leaving India, to issue from the Government Press a very useful book of "Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government for the years 1748 to 1767 inclusive, with a Map of Calcutta in 1784;" the latter a curious and suggestive sheet, illustrative of what the "City of Palaces" was nearly a century ago. Unfortunately, for the value of the work, Mr. Long takes into his plan of procedure only the social documents, leaving the political papers to others, a course which necessarily robs him of many interesting records. Political life of a marked character, and capable of making deep impressions on the history of nations, has never been wanting in India. Social life, on the other hand, has always been like a Dead Sea if not of inanity at least of absolute *sameness*, unchanged from age to age. At times, indeed, there has been a surface-ripple caused by the progress of some beneficent or devastating conqueror; but essentially the life of India has, for generation after generation, gone on in the same channels, and with the same characteristics in this generation and that. The East India Company only troubled itself with the social life of India when social affairs bordered on and affected politics. Hence, we think, the two subjects ought to have gone together; and instead of one member of the Commission taking the social and another the political, the division should have been made by periods—terms of years—as short as the compilers pleased, but confined within reasonable limits by a fixed rule.

However, Mr. Long's work is now before the public, and we must take it as it is, and glean from it what we can of a strange and eventful period in the history of affairs which have influenced the entire world, and that in a degree little dreamt of by the cursory reader of history. At the time when Mr. Long's records begin, the English may be said to have been about a century in India as a moving power, a force sufficient to affect the magnet of Indian politics in a sensible though, at first, a somewhat imperceptible degree. Our forefathers set down their feet, firmly, on the southern coast, and on the banks of the Hoogly during Cromwell's protectorship. A few years later Bombay came to us as a Royal wedding-

gift ; altogether, during the century preceding the date of Mr. Long's earliest documents, we may be said to have laid down the lines of dominion from the three great gateways of our now splendid empire. Not that those old heroes and statesmen of John Company ever dreamt of the extent to which their work would eventually grow. The wildest English dream never went so far as that ; though there were French dreams, brilliant and not by any means impracticable, which went quite as far, if indeed they did not extend farther, to that empire of the world which Alexander too dreamt of, but never achieved. The men of the English East India Company had no far-sighted dreams, no clairvoyance of any kind, but a remarkable statesmanship in some cases, and an equally remarkable executive power in many more. In fact, we began with executive power, and to that power we owe the perpetuation of our rule. Our competitors on the Hoogly were the French, the Dutch, the Danes, and the Portuguese, to all of which the records refer more or less throughout. The Dutch and English, however, made their factories to rest upon the most practical basis ; and, when the vast energies called into existence by Cromwell's stern reign had to seek new channels under the Restoration, part of the energy flowed eastward, as well as westward, and England may be said to have started foremost in the race both as a conquering and colonising power.

There is no possibility of doubt that the French had those dreams of very extensive conquest to which reference is made above. The brilliant deeds of Dupleix and Labourdonnais seemed to be stepping-stones to empire ; and at one time had to all appearance extinguished the English, even as a commercial power, in India. The tide began to turn about the date at which these records open. About that time Clive may be said to have appeared on the scene. Arcot was defended in 1751, Dupleix went home in 1754, Bussy and Lally henceforth intrigued and fought to no sensible purpose, looked at from this distant time ; Calcutta had been taken and re-taken, and the terrible penalty exacted. In short the great events connected with the names of Dupleix, Labourdonnais, Lally, and Bussy, and with the rise of Clive and his final retirement from India, are all included in this period. At the date when the records open, Warren Hastings was sixteen years of age. He came to India in 1750, a lad of eighteen, and had made a big mark in history before the period at which this volume of records closes.

The first record (25th February 1748) pictures to us the alarm of the factories at a dread rumour that the Mahrattas were upon them. In the following month the rumours grew thicker and more alarming. The terrible horsemen, of whom comparatively little

was known at that time were coming, by the Soonderbunds and threatened Dacca; one party remaining near Burdwan, and other parties scattered over the country pillaging as they came. The Dutch factory of Futtea had been plundered to the extent of Rs. 65,000, by people from Patna. Within the same month the Mahrattas had advanced to Calcutta itself, and had taken Tannah Fort, which, Mr. Long tells us, stood on the site now occupied by the house of the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens. A month later a number of English boats were stopped by a zemindar near Pulta. The Mahrattas had spread like locusts, and to mend the matter a French fleet was reported on its way to Pondicherry. Towards the end of the month a gentleman whose name will not easily be lost from the page of history—Omichund, the Bengal millionaire, appears on the scene, as an agent of the Company, for the purchase and sale of goods. The following summary of his history is interesting:—

“Omichund first appears in 1748 as a man of such weight that the Mahratta General on his march to Patna corresponded with him. He had some influence with Seraj-ud-dowlah when Calcutta was taken. He told the Nawab he had never known the English for four years guilty of breaking their word, to the truth of which he took his oath by touching a Brahmin's foot, and that if a lie could be proved in England on any one they were spit upon and never trusted. In January 1757 his effects were ordered to be sequestered for disloyalty, but as there was no direct evidence, the measure was not carried out. Clive describes Omichund as intriguing and recommends him a visit of devotion to Malda. The black inhabitants of Calcutta petitioned that Omichund might not share in the restitution money of 20 lakhs granted to the Bengalis, the Government rejected the petition, though the people shewed that the Nawab's colors were hoisted in his house, his goods were not plundered, and that his two servants conducted the Nawab into Calcutta, broke open the prison house, released the criminals and plundered the town.

“In 1759 the Bengal Government got a wiggling from the Court for making a contract with Omichund for 58,000 maunds of saltpetre at six Arcot Rupees the maund, when Mr. Parkes contracted at Patna for 51,000 maunds at 2-14 Sicca per maund; thus the Government lost by Omichund Rs. 70,000.

“Omichund by his will left Rs. 1,500 to the Treasurer of the Foundling Asylum, the same to the Magdalen, both were paid.”

The Dutch and English drew together, about the same time, as against the French, and the former two allies cut off all communication with Chandernagore. The English Company, however, was almost precluded from acting for lack of money; and a little later when the Dutch informed the Governor of Calcutta that the French from Chandernagore had broken into the Dutch garden at Chinsura, and hence broken the peace of the Hoogly, the English contented

themselves with an appeal to the Nawab. Here too they reckoned without their host, as men short of money and means for fighting often do. The Nawab instead of answering in the expected way wrote a menacing letter, stating that he had heard bad stories of the English, who were accused of seizing the goods of merchants, Syuds, Moguls, Armenians, and others, on the pretence that the goods were French property; and he enjoined the immediate return of those goods, or he warned the merchants of "a due chastisement in such a manner as you least expect." In this position, at the beginning of 1749, were the founders of the English Empire in India. The dispute between the Company and the Armenians, &c., seems to have been continued during the year. Towards the end of it the English were fined by the Nawab in the large sum of twelve lakhs of rupees, and were made to account for what the King's ships had done to the French. This was held to be a peculiarly hard case since the Company had no more power over the King's ships than over the man in the moon. However, such was their position that anything beyond grumbling was out of the question. The time for something beyond grumbling was fast approaching, with a magnificent destiny for the oppressed Company.

There is nothing in this volume that shows more clearly the progress of the East India Company's power than the references to the Mahrattas. At the beginning of the records, we find these wild and dangerous enemies hovering round the factories, and paying periodical visits, levying black mail, and plundering in all directions, evidently despising the merchants who had their head offices in an obscure place called London, somewhere over the Motea—the gods only knew where. When the plundering was finished the wild men retreated at their leisure with their spoils. Before the end of the volume, in 1764, we find them offering to assist the English with cavalry against Seraj-ud-dowlah. Wonderful change! Clive meantime had appeared on the scene, and had shown that he and his countrymen could take care of themselves, and inflict damage on their enemies. From that time the Mahrattas and many other people were ready to take care of these English adventurers, and help them to inflict injury on all and sundry, except, you know, gentlemen—*ourselves*, your very good friends. It was the world-old principle that "God helps those who help themselves"—who are lucky enough, for instance, to have a hero like Clive (who ought in all reason to have broken his neck at Market Drayton church steeple) preserved to defend, as Clive defended Arcot, and to win, as he won Plassey.

We shall not attempt to carry the reader from page to page through the volume; but instead of that, shall take from it a few memorable facts and incidents bearing on great names and deeds

which were the foundation stones of empire, or which afford such glimpses as can be given by this imperfect record of the social characteristics of the people. Mr. Long says, however, that "unfortunately, for a complete description, the scanty nature of the early records is a great barrier; white-ants, damp, the pilfering of ill-paid dufters, and borrowing without returning, have reduced the number considerably. But it is remarkable in what a good condition both the paper and ink of those remaining are. The great hurricane and inundation of 1737 must have destroyed many records; but the capture of Calcutta in 1756 swept nearly all away; even the account books and Government Bonds in the hurry of flight were left behind, and the Court of Directors were, in consequence, for years in great difficulties how to balance their accounts. After the battle of Plassey, documents become more numerous; and subsequent to 1772 they are abundant on every subject."

I shall take first the glimpses given of the several European nations who had found a foothold in India. The French appear foremost in intrigue where all were intriguers; three of their pilots appear in palanquins at Balasore and give out that they are in daily expectation of a French squadron. We next find Frenchmen breaking into the Dutch garden at Chinsura, January 3rd, 1749—violating the neutrality of the Ganges. At the same time they are our active commercial enemies everywhere. Indeed, the Company's officers at this time have a strong impression that the French are inconvenient neighbours at Chandernagore, Pondicherry, Dacca, and elsewhere. Five years later, there are alarming rumours that they are fitting out privateers. But their ill luck attends them. The Chandernagore settlement is captured, and Seraj-ud-dowlah is taken, while his French friends are within three hours' march from him. These are a few of many glimpses, mere glimpses, however, given to us in these records of the East India Company's most dangerous rivals in India.

We have like glimpses of the Dutch, who appear, even in these brief records, as far more anxious about their commerce than solicitous for empire. At times they are our very good allies. At times they appear as complainants against our exacting policy; and in such cases these complaints are as a rule promptly listened to both in Bengal and England, neither the Government nor the Company having any wish for a Dutch war. Sometimes we have counter-complaints urged by the English. The Danes first come before us in these records as favouring the French, to the great indignation of the Company's servants; and a Danish vessel is seized. This is in 1759. In the same year they supply provisions to the French. In the following year, the Danish settlement is in danger, and the Governor applies to the Council for cannon, which are refused. In fact the complaints from Danes and Dutch are

incessant throughout the Company's records, though it is remarkable how well and truly the Council scent their real danger, their only formidable adversaries, the French. Almost everything hinges on them, and when power is brought to bear on the other two nations, French influence is always, or nearly always, the ulterior object.

The Portuguese day of conquest had gone before the English Company's began ; but the descendants of the enterprising men who first visited and made so deep an impression on the East remained, and were mixed up intimately with every commercial transaction of the Company. Their competitors were the Armenians, chiefly. Thus stood the affairs of European nations in India before the last decisive struggle between the French and English began. Portugal was virtually drawing out of the contest, but aiming at individual wealth. Denmark and Holland would have been content with armed factorics, and a certain commensurate influence on the districts around. England, it is all but certain, had no clear idea that she was founding an Eastern Empire. France alone made no secret of it, that that was her magnificent aim ; and in fighting against that the English Company began to adopt the very idea that they were fighting to extinguish. France sought for empire, and missed it. England, at whatever time that began to be her aim, very soon found that the royal endurance and indomitable will were hers.

Then, we have glimpses which cannot fail to be interesting of historical personages. Clive, of course, is most prominent ; stern, inflexible, dominating everything with which he comes in contact, never advocating the half-and-half measure when the thorough one is possible. If an intelligent stranger, dropped down from the clouds, were to dip into these records he would soon fix upon the one man who, granting life, and accidents apart, would make the deepest mark in the history of India. How loyal and even tender he could also be to his comrades, we find in several instances, such as the death of his old colleague Admiral Watson. Seraj-ud-dowlah also appears, painted by Clive's inflexible hand ; and from the same unsparring pen Omichund stands before us as life-like as if he were on the canvas. Clive admits him to be a useful man, but warns the Council against his intrigue, which is invertebrate. Omichund's first appearance in these records is in connection with a theft from the Company. He, acting as the Company's agent, is entrusted with the delicate task of recovering the goods. Rich, and capable, he aims high, plays deeply and never dreams that he is watched by the sharpest pair of eyes, or the sharpest but one pair of eyes, in India ; perhaps the sharpest were in the head of Hastings. We might refer

to a host of sketches—of Nundcomar, and others whose names will remain in connection with the more memorable figures of that marvellous historical picture. Warren Hastings appears in a trading transaction, which he doubtless managed well. Next we find him calmly indignant because the English never are mentioned but with pity and contempt at the Court of Moorshedabad. Again we find him interpreter to the Nawab, as a man “thoroughly agreeable to both” the Nawab and to Colonel Coote who is in consultation with him. In 1763 Mr. Hastings, having done good service to the Council, obtains permission to build a bridge over the “Callighaut Nulla,” on the way to his house. As we have already said, these are glimpses merely, not pictures of the men whose names are referred to. Still they are valuable as historical scraps, carefully collected, condensed, and made useful for future reference; all perhaps, that the painstaking, able, and genial compiler ever intended them to accomplish.

Let us now, before closing, take a few scraps of a different kind. There is in the Records a great deal of information about Calcutta. A Charity School of from 12 to 14 boys exists, and the trustees ask for it a grant of blue perbits, or some other cloth, and some stationery; the first time a charity school is heard of, I presume, in Anglo-Indian records. Another item hands down the fact that the seamen of the *Marlborough*, having defended Calcutta, should be rewarded with fifty rupees each, and be informed that the Council highly approve of their conduct. A little later we have votes allowing Roman Catholics and Armenians to live in Calcutta, provided the former are not troublesome, but no Roman Catholic priest or layman is to live in Fort William while the French war continues. A rather important item tells us that military seniority is a failure, and that no regard ought to be paid to it—showing that the need was felt of dealing sternly with stern work; a fact to which we shall again recur when the danger threatens. About the same time it is decided to turn the Calcutta theatre into a church. I might cull facts as to the cutting of the ditch to protect Calcutta, as to the objection of the Council to granting land for gardens within the city—(“let people reside there, but as compactly as possible”) the establishment of a dāk from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, &c. At the same time docks are proposed to be made, and sepoy raised for defence of the city, but above all “the French are to be distressed by every means.” The President of the Council presents to the Nawab a fine organ clock valued at 5,000 rupees. The Council decides that the junior servants of the Company have no need of the baneful luxury of palanquins. Enemies, European and Native, are around, but the Council are as guarded as ever as to the small points which seem like the thin end of the wedge. A young lady named Campbell

has been shipped at the Downs ostensibly for Madeira. If the ostensible is not the real object, Miss Campbell is to be reshipped at the cost of the owners of the vessel. No ladies, nor gentlemen either, must enter India without the Company's permission.

Here we must take leave of Mr. Long's selections; we fear the last work of his that we shall have to review as written in India itself, though we hope not by many the last that he will write for India, and for the purpose of making Indian affairs better known in England. He has done the best that could be done with his restricted material. He has given us glimpses of actual life, suggestive of thought to even the cursory reader, and valuable in a more important degree to the students of history. It certainly was a difficult task to separate the political from the social features of the records; and we think it should not have been attempted, for almost as much trouble must have been needed for the separation as for the after-selection. With that drawback, however, Mr. Long's work is well done, as much other work has been done by him heretofore.

J. R.

ART. V.—THE SECT OF “THE ASSASSINS.”

(PART II. THE FATIMITE CALIPHS.)

AMONG the Arabs there was no division of the globe known under the name of “Africa.” Egypt was not included at all in that continent, and the name of ‘Afrikia’ applied only to the northern parts of Africa, which at present include the kingdoms of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, known generally as Barbary. This tract of country was divided by them into three parts,—*Further Magreb*, extending from the shores of the Atlantic, to Telemsae, *Central Magreb* and *Afrikia* which extended from Oran to the frontiers of Egypt. The great desert formed its southern boundary. The Atlas mountains were its most remarkable natural feature. These extend across the whole of Northern Africa, or to speak more correctly they form a series of parallel chains running north-east and south-west, and separated from each other by level valleys of varying width. The highest parts of this range are the snow capped mountains which separate Morocco from the desert. The next loftiest are the mountains of Auress which extend nearly to the Tunis frontier, and between these are several minor ranges, having rich sheltered plains running up between them, the abundant harvests of which made Numidia in the old time the granary of Rome. As the mountain land approaches Tripoli, the hills and the valleys between them become parched and sterile, and finally reach the frontiers of Egypt—a chain of barren rocks. All the western and more fruitful parts of this strip of Africa were known to the Arabs, as “the land of dates” from the abundance of that fruit which they produced. The date trees clustered round the feet of the hills, and for miles and miles, between the southern slopes of the Atlas and the inhospitable waste of the Great Desert, the interminable groves threw a broad and grateful shadow over the land.

*The indigenous inhabitants of this region were known to early historians and geographers as *Libyans*, and there can be very little doubt that these Libyans are the people known in Arabian history as *Barbers*, the descendants of whom are still to be found in the south and west of Fezzan—a tall, noble-looking race of men, fair skinned, though embrowned by the scorching rays of an African sun, and with a certain air of pride, and indomitable love of freedom stamped upon their faces, their actions and their speech.

While the broad belt of desert which encloses the central regions of Africa has preserved them from any violent changes, or any notable part in the world’s history, the northern regions have been again and again the theatre of great events. Here

the great Carthaginian Republic flourished and fell. From the brave and hardy mountaineers of the Atlas she recruited the famous Numidian Horse, whose swords did such fearful execution on the battle fields of Thrasymene, and Cannæ. Mounted on their small Barbary horses, they needed no saddles, and a halter of twisted rushes served them for bridle. The skin of a lion or tiger was their dress by day and their couch at night. When they fought on foot a piece of elephant's hide served them as a shield. Their onset was dreadful by reason of the speed and cunning of their horses. If unsuccessful, they eluded pursuit by scattering like so much chaff before a gust of wind, till a fresh opportunity arose, when the broken fragments would re-unite with the swiftness of lightning and in one compact body swoop down upon their prey. These mercenary troops were at once the strength and the weakness of the Carthaginian Republic. They were irreclaimable barbarians, with all the virtues and the faults of the savage. Severed into a vast number of tribes, divided from each other by hereditary hatreds, they rejected every attempt to make them abandon this savage and bloody independence. They hated all order, and all masters, good, bad or indifferent. Greedy of plunder, and reckless of life, they fought with rare courage in the armies of the Republic. But they had no love for the mistress for whom they gave their lives. At the least offence their swords were ready to sheathe themselves in the bosom they were intended to defend. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, treated these mercenary troops with that utterly callous indifference to the rights and feelings of "barbarians" which is characteristic of the old world. The mutual hatred long enkindled broke out at the close of the first war with Rome. The army of Carthage rose against the city, and nearly brought her to destruction. The "war of the mercenaries," though ultimately brought to a successful conclusion, inflicted a wound upon the Republic from which she never recovered. It revealed the secret of her weakness. The wandering tribes of Mount Atlas discovered that they held her fate in their hands, and with the characteristic fickleness of the savage, they flocked to the banners of Scipio so soon as he had landed in Africa. And so Rome triumphed, and Carthage fell. The one power was founded upon the rock of patriotism; the other upon the shifting sand of a mercenary army which crumbled away in the moment of need. Nothing less than the matchless genius of Hannibal could have prevailed to maintain the unequal struggle so long.

Carthage fell; the wars against Jugurtha were fought out to their bloody conclusion; the Vandals drove out the Romans; the Romans drove out the Vandals; Northern Africa from one end to the other became a theatre of religious persecution, wasted with fire and sword, but through all these tempests

and vicissitudes, the mountaineers preserved untainted their barbarism and independence. They continued as of old to wander over the desert and build their villages in the valleys running up between the parallel ranges of the Atlas. The poorer classes devoted themselves to the cultivation of the soil; the richer wandered with their flocks and herds from one pasture land to another; each tribe had its own chiefs; and they were in unison upon one matter only. No fixed Government should ever be allowed to restrict the liberty they so dearly loved. Their matchless and innumerable cavalry was ever at the disposal of any one who would aid them in casting off an existing yoke, whether of Carthaginian, Vandal, Roman or Arab. The Berbers were, in a word, the Afghans of Northern Africa; like them devoured by internal feuds, like them fierce and untameable, and too low in the scale of development, to care for aught but the savage unfettered independence of their own Libyan lions; and like them, curiously enough, ranging under four great tribal divisions, the Zenata, the Hawara, the Tanhadja, and the tribes of Ketama. It is necessary to keep these traits in recollection to understand the politics of Northern Africa under the domination of the Arabs.

The re-conquest of Northern Africa by Belisarius paved the way for the victories of the Arabs. Before that event, the land had recovered from the ravages of the first Vandal conquerors, and was rich with the accumulated treasures of peace and prosperity. But afterwards, the insatiable rapacity, and persecuting spirit of the Byzantine Court, kindled the flames of war from one end of the province to the other, and "such" Gibbon tells us "was the desolation of Africa that in many parts a stranger might wander whole days without meeting the face either of a friend or enemy. When Procopius first landed he admired the populousness of the cities and country strenuously exercised in the labours of commerce and agriculture. In less than twenty years, that busy scene was converted into a vast solitude; the wealthy citizens escaped to Sicily and Constantinople; and the secret historian has confidently affirmed that five millions of Africans were consumed by the wars and government of the Emperor Justinian." When the warriors of Islam appeared, the slender thread which connected Africa with Europe had been snapped asunder; the Governor of the Province had assumed the rank and title of an independent Sovereign; the Berbers issuing from the mountains spread at will over the open country; and the Arab chroniclers speak with amazement of the many ruined cities their armies passed in their march through the province.

The first expedition of the Arabs was made A.H. 27 (A.D. 647-8.) Othman was at that time Caliph, and had entrusted the Government of Egypt to his brother Abdallah. Abdallah sent parties of horsemen

into Afrikia to report upon the country, and the accounts they brought back of its wealth and fertility determined Othman to undertake a regular invasion. The Caliph furnished from his private funds a thousand camels for the use of the poorer soldiery, as well as horses and arms, and bestowed a gratuity upon each soldier enrolled in the expedition. The army was composed of detachments from several Arab tribes, and these, on arrival in Egypt, were further strengthened until they reached a total of twenty thousand men. Abdallah, the Governor of Egypt, took command of the whole. He marched swiftly across the desert of Barca, left the walled cities of Tripoli and Cades unassailed in his rear, and attacked the Byzantine Prefect Gregorius, in a plain, twenty-four hours' journey from Carthage—"a vast city" says the *Arabian Chronicle*, "enclosing lofty edifices with walls of white marbles, and thronged with colonnades, and monuments of various colours in immense numbers." The Greek army was completely defeated and Gregorius slain. The payment of an immense sum of money, however, succeeded for a time in inducing the Arabs to withdraw to Egypt. But the interval of peace was a short one. The rapacity of the Greek Government drove the Berbers into rebellion; they invited the Arabs to come to their assistance; an invitation eagerly responded to. It is impossible to follow the incidents of the war in the confused and rambling accounts of the Arab historians, but it seems that by A.H. 55 (A.D. 675) the Arab rule was firmly established in Afrikia proper. The Governor was the celebrated Okba, and he had built a city—Cairoan—as a point of support from which to push into the interior of the country. The Greeks still occupied Magreb, and had collected an immense number of Berbers as auxiliaries to their regular troops. In that year Okba, at the head of a large army, crossed the boundary line of Afrikia and entered Magreb; the open towns surrendered as he approached: the Greeks and Berbers hung about the flanks of his army, and tried to impede his advance, but he made his way by dint of hard fighting through all obstacles until he reached the furthest coast of Africa, and beheld before him the tumbling billows of the Atlantic. Spurring his horse into the waves until the water reached his chest, he raised his hand to heaven and exclaimed "Oh! God! but for this sea I would have gone into still remoter countries, like unto Zul-karnein, fighting for thy religion, and slaying such as believe in other gods than Thee!" *

* Okba here alludes to the following passage in the seventh Sura of the Koran, entitled "The Cave." Zul-karnein, it must be premised, is supposed by the majority of commentators to be Alexander the

Great. "The Jews will ask Thee concerning Zul-karnein. Answer, I will rehearse unto you an account of him. We made him powerful in the earth and we gave him means to accomplish every thing he pleased,

This triumphant advance of Okba had the effect of stilling the turbulent Berbers into a panic-stricken quiescence; they not only hastened in crowds to tender their submission, but declared themselves believers in the one God, and followers of the Prophet. The land had rest for a brief space. Okba himself was the means of arousing the storm again. He wantonly and grossly insulted Koseila, a leading Berber chieftain. At his summons the clans resumed the weapons they had so lately laid aside, and a countless host swept down from all the valleys of the Atlas, on the handful of Arabs that garrisoned Cairoan. Okba, disdained to endure a siege. He broke the scabbard of his sword in token of his resolution to conquer or die, and leading out his small force charged, into the centre of the Berbers who encompassed his capital. He fell fighting desperately; only a very few of the Arabs effected a retreat into Egypt; Koseila took possession of Cairoan and the domination of the Moslems appeared to be at an end. But the Caliph Abdalmalek, no sooner heard of the heroic death of Okba than he resolved to avenge him. A.H. 69, (A.D. 619-9) Zobeir entered Afrikia with another army larger and better equipped than the one which had been destroyed with Okba. Koseila abandoned Cairoan at his approach, falling back in order to give the Berbers time to leave their mountain homes, and rally round him. The Arabs followed closely and according to their own account made immense havoc amid the retreating mountaineers. But their success was short lived. Zobeir had not advanced far when he heard that a Greek army, encouraged by the late expulsion of the Arabs, had appeared upon the coast of Barca. He hastily retraced his steps, rashly attacked these new invaders with very inferior forces, and he and his troops were cut off almost to a man. Africa had once again cast out the Muhammadan invader. But the Caliph was not to be baffled. A third army made good its footing upon the hardly contested soil. This was in the year 74. This army—forty thousand strong, and commanded by Hassan-ibn-Nooman—for awhile carried all before it. Cairoan was recaptured: the city of Carthage stormed and pillaged, and the Greeks and Berbers defeated in a great battle in the open field. The remnant of the Greek

and he followed his way until he came to the place where the sun setteth; and he found it to set in a spring of black mud, and he found near the same a certain people. And we said, Oh! Zul-karnein! either punish this people or use gentleness towards them. He answered whosoever of them shall commit injustice we will surely punish him in this world; afterwards shall

he return unto his Lord, and He shall punish him with a severe punishment." For the rest of Zul-karnein's adventures, and how he prevented Gog and Magog from ravaging the earth by means of a wall composed of "iron, red hot as fire," and "molten brass," so that they "could not scale it, neither could they dig through it,"—vide Sale's Koran, p. 246-7.

army hastily abandoned the country; the Arab was once more supreme. But the Berbers were still far from having been subdued. Koseila had died, but his vast influence had passed undiminished to a woman—*Elkahina* or the Diviner as she was called—who was supposed to have the gift of prediction, and was regarded as more than human by her countrymen. She descended at the head of an immense force from the heights of Mount Aouess, defeated the Arabs with great slaughter, and compelled them for the third time to relinquish their hardly gotten prize. But the Arabs only retreated to re-appear in greater numbers. The Sibyl was defeated in a pitched battle, and slain as she attempted to fly. The Berbers exhausted by the indomitable perseverance of Arab enthusiasm, at length sued for peace. They obtained it on the condition of furnishing a contingent of twelve thousand men to aid in the invasion of Spain. "From this time," says the *Chronicle*, "Islam spread itself among the Berbers;" but the change of faith brought no change of character. They remained as much enamoured as ever of their savage independence; they hated their Arab master even more profoundly now that he had his foot upon their neck, than when on equal terms they confronted him in the field of battle. They waited only for an opportunity to assume their old attitude of active hostility. The opportunity was not long in coming. It was furnished by the appearance of a new party in Africa—the sect of the Separatists. These men had originally been followers of Ali, but when he consented to refer his rights and those of Moawia to the decision of arbitrators, they broke away from him and set up on their own account. They declared that in a matter of this kind there could be no arbiter but God, and no mode of arbitration but the bloody decision of the battle field. They held in fact, the old mediæval notion of wager by battle. They scornfully rejected all Ali's offers of conciliation, and a body of twenty-five thousand men appeared in arms against him.* Four thousand of these he cut to pieces, but the sect continued to increase in numbers, and it was only after infinite fighting and cruelty and blood shedding, that they were gradually driven out of Irak, some into Haa, others through Egypt into Afrikia and Magreb. These Separatists—known in Afrikia, as *Safrites*,—rejected the authority of all Caliphs indifferently; they themselves were the only true Muhammadaus; all others were heretics, and as such worthy of death. To slay such was the true Holy War (*Jehad*) and whoever refused to join in this pious work, became *ipso facto* a heretic himself, who was to be slaughtered wherever he was met with, and his wife and children sold into slavery.

These were the precise leaders the Berbers were in need of.

Hitherto they had always commenced one of their fierce outbreaks with a general renunciation of the Muhammadan faith and a return to the unknown worship of their native hills. But their uniform ill success had generated the belief that this Arabian God was stronger far than any they worshipped—that they must have Him on their side if they hoped for success. The Separatists seemed to have brought this secret with them. The Berbers hated the government that was over them—the Berbers deemed that these Arab rulers were an accursed race fit only to be devoured by the sword ; and now these Sectarics came among them with the tidings that such feelings and such acts were exactly those most grateful to the Deity they wished to have upon their side. They found themselves, in a moment, converted into the true believers, and their Arab conquerors, into the out-castes and heretics. The Separatist leaders, who had been hunted like partridges upon the hills, found themselves all at once the leaders of formidable hosts. Afrika and Magreb became a scene of tumult and blood shedding ; until in the year 124 (A.D. 742) the troubles culminated in a terrible outbreak.

Two large armies came down from the hills to make a joint attack upon Cairoan. But the Arab Governor Hanzala, a man who combined all the religious enthusiasm of the Muhammadan, with a gentleness of heart unwonted in that savage age ; was more than equal to the emergency. He sallied forth from the city and assailing one of the two armies—that commanded by Okasa the Sufrite,—before it could effect a junction with the other, utterly defeated it. He then fell back on Cairoan to repel the second army. But the force he sent out to stay its advance, after great deal of hard fighting which extended over a month, was driven back upon Cairoan with heavy loss. Okasa in the meanwhile had recovered from his defeat, and the two hosts beleaguered the devoted city. The *Chroniclers* with the usual exaggeration of the Oriental, number them at three hundred thousand men. Hanzala, however, was not dismayed. He drew out of the magazines all the arms stored up in them, and made an appeal to the inhabitants, giving to each person that enlisted a complete suit of armour, and fifty *dinars*. This attracted so many volunteers to his ranks that he diminished his gratuity first to forty and then to thirty *dinars*, rejecting all recruits, but the young and vigorous. It was a crisis never to be forgotten by those who with beating hearts and straining eyes watched till the torches of the night had burned out and jocund day stood tiptoe on the misty mountain tops. All round the city the twinkle of innumerable watchfires marked out the lines of the beleaguering host. Within, in the great square in front of the mosque, the glare of the lights showed Hanzala and his chief officers engaged hour after hour in the

arrangement and distribution of the recruits for the morrow's battle. It was for all a question of life and death. A Berber victory would instantly convert the city into a shambles, where men, women and children would be slain indiscriminately. At the break of day the besieged troops broke, every man his scabbard—the usual Arab symbol that death or victory were the only possible alternatives—and marched forth to engage the enemy. There was a terrible struggle, but the courage of despair proved at the last stronger than the force of numbers. The vast Berber host broke and fled; their own numbers encumbered their flight, and rendered impossible the preservation of any sort of order. The victorious Arabs pressed their rear and slew them by thousands. Eighty-thousand in all are said to have perished. This of course is a wild exaggeration. The statistics of oriental histories are simply worthless; but there can be no doubt that whether the loss was great or small, the victory wrought a marvellous and unhopd for deliverance. It was accounted one of the "great days" of the Arabs. "After the battle of Beder," said a warrior of that time who was not present, "I should wish to have fought in the battle in front of Cairoan."

We need not pursue the story any further. Oriental history is full of such exciting scenes, and yet at the same time almost wholly destitute of interest. The reason of this is not far to seek. There is there, no increasing purpose running through the ages, and the thoughts of men are narrowed instead of widened "by the process of the suns." All the elements of greatness exist in it—heroism, endurance, zeal, self-sacrifice—but applied to purposes either selfish or utterly useless, they work no deliverance upon the earth. We find ourselves treading for ever in the same weary mill round of battles and sieges with no other purpose than that of plunder, until, as in Muhammadan countries at present, total inward corruption supervenes upon exhaustion. The above particulars were needful to show the precarious and uncertain foundations of Arab rule in Northern Africa, and the sudden and frequent revolutions of power. When the Abbasides drove out the house of Ommeya and usurped the Caliphate, fresh elements of discord were necessarily poured into this wretched country. New leaders appeared with new claims who were sure of support, if not in one tribe then in another. Shortly after the weakness of the Caliphs, the presence of enemies nearer Bagdad, led to the virtual severance of the North of Africa from the rest of the Empire. The country was broken up into small states, the internal relations of which were in a state of continual flux. At the time when the story of "the Assassins" mingles with the stream of African politics, Afrika and Magreb were divided between two dynasties, the Edrisites and the Aglabites.

The family of the Abbasides—who had no shadow of right to the dignity of the Caliphate—attained to that dignity by a combination of cruelty and treachery. They obtained the co-operation of the followers of Ali by the pretence that it was for the sake of his family that they had taken up arms against the house of Ommeya, and they displayed themselves in their true character only when the barbarous massacre of the Ommeyas, at a banquet at Damascus, seemed to give them sufficient strength to do so. This declaration, however, was the signal for a series of desperate revolts headed by different members of the family of Ali. Among these leaders was one Muhammad the great grandson of the martyr Hoosain. The whole of the Hejaz, including the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, recognised him as the legitimate Caliph. He had six brothers, whom he sent forth through all the countries of Islam as missionaries to win adherents to him. One of these, by name Suleiman, after many years of wandering in Egypt and Soudan (the land of the negroes) finally settled at Telemsan in Magreb. He was the father of a numerous family of sons, and these, in their turn, carried on the work of their father, and preached the duty of obedience to the house of Ali through Northern Africa. In the meanwhile (A.H. 169) the Imam Muhammad had been slain with the greater part of his family in a battle near Mecca, fought during the Caliphate of Mahdi; one brother, however, by name Edris, contrived to make his way into Magreb. He found the people well-prepared to receive him, and he speedily rose to the position of a Sovereign with Telemsen as his capital and the tribes of Zenata as his devoted subjects. The dynasty continued to grow and prosper, and at the time when we take up the thread of African History (A.H. 357), Yahia, the eighth prince from Edris, was seated on the throne, with the celebrated city of Fez as his capital.

The Aglabites had their capital at Rekada in Central Magreb. They had originally entered Africa in the train of the representative of the Bagdad Caliph; their courage and sagacity had gradually raised them to the rank of Governors, which the growing weakness of the Caliphs enabled them without much difficulty to turn into an hereditary possession. They were virtually independent though still proffering a nominal allegiance to the ruler of Bagdad. Zyadet Ally—the last Prince of this dynasty, was the Sovereign in Rekada, when our narrative commences.

In the paper preceding this we gave an account of the events which led to the great schism of Islam into the two parties of Sunni and Shia, and the bitter and implacable enmity thereby engendered. The followers of Ali again sub-divided into various sects, but the principal among these was the one great party, still predominant in Persia—the Believers in the Imam. Even this ranged itself

under two heads—the *twelvers*, so named because they make the series of the revealed Imams—*i.e.*, the lineal descendants of Ali and Fatima—terminate with Muhammad-ibn-Askeri, who was the twelfth. Of him, they believe that he disappeared in a subterranean spring not far from Bagdad, and that he will remain invisible until the end of the world, when he is to re-appear with the Prophet Elias, at the second coming of Jesus Christ, and become one of the two witnesses spoken of in the Apocalypse. The *sevensers*, so called because they only reckon seven Imams, of whom the last is known as Ismail; and hence also their other name of *Ismailiens*. This Ismail was the son Djafar Sadik, who died A.H. 148; the birth of the sect therefore cannot ascend to a more remote point of antiquity. It is, however, more probable, that their doctrines did not assume a definite shape until after the death of Ismail, as his son Muhammad is regarded by the majority of the Ismailiens as the same Imam as his father; and it is in the person of this Muhammad that the dignity of Imam resides for ever. Since his disappearance all those who have been the leaders of the Ismailiens have been only his lieutenants. The expectation of his advent is the most essential part of the system. In his name and under his authority all business is transacted, and every convert is enrolled into the service of Muhammad to be ready to follow and obey him whenever he appears. The Fatimite Caliphs and—nourished under their protection,—the sect of the "Assassins," were followers of this doctrine, with, however, this important modification—that the expected Imam Muhammad or the *Mehdi*, as he was also called, had reappeared and was incarnate in each successive Fatimite Caliph.

Toward the close of the third century of the Hejira, the living representative of the Ismailien Imam was one Muhammad who died A.H. 270, leaving his rights to his son Obeidollah. Among the most zealous and successful missionaries of this persuasion, was a certain Ibn Hauschab, originally a believer in the twelve Imams, who had been converted in a sudden and mysterious manner to a recognition of the rights resident in the family of Ismail. He resided in Yemen, and he and his subordinates had spread their faith through all that country, and had penetrated even to Magreb, where the Berber tribe of Ketama had been won over. Amongst these missionaries was one known in Arabian History as Abou Abdallah the Shiite, a man deeply versed in all the learning of that age, exceedingly subtle and wise in the formation of his plans; as bold and adroit in his execution of them, and possessed of a singular power of fascination over all inferior minds that came in contact with him. It so happened that a few years before the close of the third century the missionaries resident in Africa died, and Ibn Hauschab selected this Abou Abdallah as their successor

He accordingly left Yemen and repaired to Mecca. It was the season of the pilgrimage, and he at once took up his residence in that quarter of the city occupied by the pilgrims of Ketama. Without revealing his character of missionary he contrived to insinuate himself into their confidence and friendship. The pilgrims were charmed by the fascination of his conversation, and awed by his piety and spiritual detachment from the world. He, for his part, gradually extracted from them all they had to tell respecting Northern Africa; the different tribes who resided there, their religious proclivities, and the amount of authority that appertained to the representative of the Bagdad Caliphs. In the end nothing would content the Ketama pilgrims short of Abu Abdallah returning with them to Africa and taking up his abode with them, and he, secretly rejoicing, consented. He found the Ketamiens zealous for Ali and the Ismailiens. There he declared his true mission as the man who was sent before to prepare the way for the coming of the Mehdi. The Ketamiens eagerly gathered round him; he was soon at the head of a formidable force, which defeated the Aglabite troops in an encounter in the open field. The Mehdi, he now declared, was at hand, and would enter upon his inheritance, and happy, he added, will be those who shall abandon country and friends for his sake. He spoke at length of the marvels which should accompany his coming, and the victories and splendor which God had in store for him. Then he despatched some messengers to inform Obeidollah of the situation, and that nothing now was wanting to success but his own appearance upon the scene of action. Obeidollah was at this time at Edessa. He set out at once secretly, but the Caliph Moctafi sent intelligence of his designs to Ziadet Ali, the reigning Aglabite, and Obeidollah was seized and placed in close confinement in Sedjelmessa—a city on the borders of the great desert. But Abu Abdallah was now a powerful captain. He assaulted and took Sedjelmessa, and liberating Obeidollah, presented him to the troops as the expected Mehdi. Ziadet Ali, a weak and cowardly sovereign, fled panic-stricken to Egypt, abandoning his hereditary possessions, and Obeidollah was crowned at Rekada at the close of the second Rebi, A.H. 297. Fez—the capital of the Edrissite dynasty—was then besieged, and Yahia only purchased a temporary relief by consenting to hold his dominions as a fief of the Fatimite Sovereigns. Such was the origin of the Fatimite Caliphs of Africa and Egypt—so called from their descent—real or pretended—from Ali, and Fatima the daughter of the Prophet.*

* Their claim to this honour is one of the most hotly disputed questions in Arabian History. We have assumed its validity as the most probable conclusion, but there is no trustworthy evidence on the one side or the other. No demonstration would have been clear enough to

Obeidollah's first care, in true oriental fashion, was to destroy the ladder by which he had ascended to his present elevation. Abu Abdallah was arrested on a charge of treason against the Sovereign he had just raised from the dust, and swiftly decapitated. The new monarch breathed more freely, as soon as his powerful subject was no more; but he was too well acquainted with the shifting and changeable character of African politics to suppose that his present supremacy would long remain unquestioned. The tribe of Ketama alone acknowledged him as their legitimate ruler. The rest of the Berbers were separatists almost to a man, and only stunned for a time into acquiescence by the military abilities of the man he had just put to death. He determined to build a city; so strongly fortified by nature and art, that even should his partisans be driven from the open country they might find there an impregnable rallying point. He built in consequence a city on the sea coast, called after himself as the Medhi,—Medhia. It rose, a superb city of white marble palaces, built upon a slip of land jutting out into the sea, and connected, says Abul Fada, with the mainland, as the hand is joined to the arm. The wisdom of this proceeding was soon made apparent. Obeidollah, indeed, brought a long reign to a prosperous conclusion, but the storm burst in fury over his son and successor, Abul Muhammad Elkaiem. A separatist fanatic Abu Yazid, a man sixty years of age, and worn down with disease and infirmities had contrived to convince the Berbers of Mount Aures, that he was a Prophet sent by God to sweep the Fatimite Caliphs out of the land. In the year 332 (A.D. 943-44) they burst from their mountain fastnesses and swept like a destroying deluge over the plains. The Fatimite troops were defeated again and again. City after city was taken by storm, and became a scene of the most frightful atrocities. The empire of Elkaiem fell to pieces with even greater rapidity than it had been constructed. The Caliph was shut up in his capital and closely besieged. But here the success of Abu Yazid terminated. The siege was still progressing when Elkaiem died, and his son Ismail-el-Mansour—a young man of rare energy and courage—mounted the vacant throne. Step by step under his conduct, the fierce Sectaries were driven back to their mountain homes. The leaders who fell into his hands were flayed alive, and their skins stuffed with straw, and nailed to crosses, in the sight of the army; the rank and file were

convinced the partisans of either side that their opponents were in the right, and consequently, the testimony in the matter of either Shāh or Ismail is altogether worthless.

Still one of the two sides must have been correct, and we incline to believe the Fatimite Caliphs were actually what they declared themselves to be, lineal descendants of Ali and Fatima.

either roasted to death over slow fires ; or their hands and feet were cut off, and the mutilated but still breathing bodies, fastened to crosses to linger out the painful remains of life. These atrocities obtained for the ruthless young Prince, the name of "the Flayer." They had, however, the effect of causing the followers of Abu Yazid to change sides with the swiftest rapidity ; and all such tenders of submission were cordially accepted by Ismail. Abu Yazid fled to Djebel Selat, a precipitous and inaccessible rock rising from a parched desert, which needed eleven days to traverse. Ismail plunged boldly into this sandy solitude, but his soldiers perished of thirst ; his horses and beasts of burden died from want of forage, and he extricated himself only with immense difficulty and severe loss. It was after four years fighting (A.H. 336, A.D. 947-48) that the Secretary and his followers were at last cooped up in the mountain of Kiana, with every passage of escape barred up by the armies of the Caliph. The struggle round this last position was severe and protracted. At length, seeing his troops diminishing every day in numbers, Abu Yazid issued from his intrenchments, in a desperate effort to cut his way through the besiegers. His followers were mostly cut to pieces, and he fell covered with wounds upon the field of battle and was made prisoner. He died that same night, but his body stuffed with straw was carried in solemn procession from city to city. Notwithstanding the death of this formidable heretic, the crisis was far from past. "The wind was down but still the waves ran high," and the existence of the Fatimite Caliphate was yet doubtful when Ismail died, A.H. 339 (A.D. 950-51) or as some say A.H. 341.

Ismail was succeeded by his son, known in history under the title of Moezz-li-din-Allah. Among the freedmen of this prince was a certain Greek slave, by name Djauher. He had been a favourite of Ismail who had him carefully educated under his own eye ; Moezz regarded him with even greater partiality ; he passed him rapidly through all the inferior grades, and finally raised him to the rank of Vizier, and generalissimo of the kingdom. In this last capacity, the task of completing the work of pacification which the preceding Caliph had left incomplete was entrusted to him. This he accomplished with equal skill and success ; and Moezz-li-din-Allah found himself the undisputed monarch of all Northern Africa, from the shores of the Atlantic to the confines of Egypt. But it is not in the nature of an Eastern despot to be content with the widest dominions so long as there is a possibility to acquire any more, and having extended his possessions as far as the frontiers of Egypt, Moezz, as a matter of course, wished to absorb that fertile province also. Egypt, like the other provinces of Islam, had become virtually independent of Bagdad,

and it was at this time ruled by a hump-backed African eunuch, Kafour, who had raised himself from the position of a slave to his present eminence. This man had shown himself equally great as a soldier and a statesman, but he was now well stricken in years, and Mœzz deemed it his wisest policy to defer the execution of his plans of conquest until after Kafour's death. This occurred A.H. 357: and the province at once fell into a state of the utmost confusion. The Turkish soldiers mutinied, and under the pretence of arrears of pay, demanded immense sums of money. As these were not paid up immediately, they pillaged the palace of the Vizier, and the houses of his principal friends; while some of them sent messages to Mœzz entreating him to assume possession of the province, and engaging to assist him with all their power. To crown all, one of those terrible and desolating famines, peculiar to Egypt, descended upon the province. There are, in the Arabic chronicles, several such visitations recorded; and the terrible sufferings and fearful mortality were such as to be well-nigh incredible. "The river," says Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Egypt, about a century after this time, "overflows once every year, in the month of Elul (August), and inundating the whole country, irrigates it to the extent of fifteen days' journey. The water remains standing on the land during that and the following month, whereby it is moistened and made fit for agriculture. A marble pillar constructed with great skill has been erected in front of an island; twelve yards of this pillar protrude above the level of the river; and whenever the water rises to a height sufficient to cover the pillar, people know that it has inundated the whole land of Egypt to the extent of fifteen days' journey; whereas if one-half only of the pillar be covered, it shows that one-half of the country is yet dry. A certain officer measures the rise of the river every day and makes proclamation in Zoan and in Mizraim in these words, 'Praise God, for the river has risen so and so much.' The measurement and the proclamation is repeated every day. Whenever the water submerges the whole pillar, it produces great plenty in the whole land of Egypt. Whenever the overflowing of the Nile is suspended, they can neither sow nor reap, and the famine is sore in the land." Then, to quote the figure of Abdul Latif describing one of these terrible seasons of dearth, the year presented itself as a monster whose wrath must annihilate all the resources of life and all the means of subsistence. All who could, fled the devoted country. The poor ate carrion, corpses, dogs, even little children. The traveller would pass through towns and villages tenanted only by the corpses of its dead. Those guilty of the crime of cannibalism were burned to death, but in the extremities of hunger, the very executioners have been known

to tear fragments from the roasted flesh and devour them. It is needless to say that at such a time all the bonds of order must have been unloosed. Civil government was in fact at an end. Bands of kidnappers infested Cairo and the principal cities, who caught passengers by means of hooks let down from upper windows, when they were murdered for their wealth, and not unfrequently as food.

No conjuncture of circumstances could have been more favourable to the designs of Moezz, and he lost no time in acting upon the requests of the mutinous Turkish militia. The invading army was placed under the command of Djauher, and the expedition set forth from Cairo on Saturday 14th, of the first Rebi, A.H. 356. The Caliph had spared no labour or expense to ensure success. Each separate soldier received a gratuity in addition to his pay, and an immense treasure, and abundant munitions of war followed the army. On the day of departure, the Caliph, attended by his chief officers, rode to the camp to bid adieu to Djauher. After some conversation, he ordered Djauher to remount his horse, and then caused his sons, even the heir presumptive, his brothers, and the *emirs* of his court to dismount and pass on foot before the departing general, as the highest mark of honour and confidence he could confer upon him. On returning to his palace, the monarch sent to Djauher his robe and all his apparel, with the exception of his ring, to signify that he was in every respect the representative of his sovereign, and the temporary possessor of the same unquestioned authority. He wrote, moreover, to every city on the line of march, ordering the Governors to receive Djauher with the same honours usually paid to himself; and caused a number of vessels to be laden with grain and provisions for the relief of the distress in Egypt. These were to sail along the sea-coast, regulating their movements by those of the army.

The inhabitants of Fostât—the ancient capital of Egypt—were terror-stricken at the tidings of this invasion. They sent messengers to Djauher, before he had crossed the frontier into Egypt, to treat for the surrender of the capital, and to preserve it from pillage. Djauher conceded all their demands, and advanced toward the city. But Fostât in the meantime was a scene of dissension. The partisans of the former dynasty, and a part of the Turkish militia, renouncing their pacific intentions, determined to oppose the entrance of Djauher. A citizen of Bagdad, and consequently a servant of the Abbaside Caliph, and a bitter enemy of the Fatimites, rising up in the mosque just before the Friday prayers, cried aloud—"Oh! men of Islam, you have given yourselves over to the man who plundered Fez and reduced its people to slavery." Then he passed in review all the evils that Djauher had inflicted upon the people of Northern Africa, and

adjured them to drive out from among them those evil counsellors whose pusillanimous advice had brought them to their present evil strait. This discourse made a lively impression upon the fickle multitude. They were now for fighting to the death. All the points of approach to the city were occupied in force. But this newly-born valour proved to be only of the Bob Acres' kind, and oozed away rapidly as Djauher approached. An insignificant skirmish placed him in possession of the city. He refrained from plundering it, and caused proclamation to be made that he would adhere to the terms of the original treaty. This calmed the fears of the people; the shops remained open, and business went on as usual; and the only incident out of the ordinary was, that the exuberant gratitude of the inhabitants caused them to murder the leaders of the war party and present their heads to Djauher.

On 18th Ramadan Djauher made his triumphal entry into Fostât, with banners borne before him and trumpets sounding; he himself was clothed in a silken robe brodered with gold, and mounted upon a superb charger caparisoned in the finest cloths of Egypt. He established his camp on the site of modern Cairo, and proceeded at once to trace out the *enceinte* of the new city and to lay the foundations of the Caliph's palace. He decreed the abolition, throughout Egypt, of all forms or ceremonies which might recall the domination of the Abbasides. He removed their names out of the public prayers, and called in the coin stamped with their superscription. He forbade the wearing of black—the colour of their family—and ordered that all preachers should be clothed in white, and should repeat this formula at the public prayers: "Oh God! shed thy blessings upon thy chosen servant Muhammad; upon Ali the object of thy affection; upon Fatima the virgin; upon Hasan and Hoosain the grandsons of the prophet whom Thou hast purified and preserved from all taint of sin; and, Oh! my God! upon the Imams, the progenitors of the Chief of Believers, Moezz-li-din-Allah."

But the power of the Fatimite Caliphs was still far from being established. They were surrounded with implacable enemies. The adherents of the Abbasides—divided though they might be on minor points—were quite at one in regarding this new heretical dynasty as the very abomination of desolation, standing where it ought not. The "twelvers"—the true servants of Ali as they held themselves to be—viewed with the deepest disgust and indignation the dominion which belonged to them handed over to another, by the inexplicable caprice of Destiny. The Carmathians were still at the height of their power. They had laid Egypt under tribute. The weakness of the government there had enabled them to make with impunity the terrible raid upon Mecca described in our last

paper. The apparition of a power, still in its youthful vigour, and backed up by all the resources in men and money of Northern Africa, was like the first warning note of their hour of doom.

Insurrections soon broke out in half-a-dozen different parts of Egypt. Rebellion, hydra-headed, was destroyed in one place, only to spring up in another. But Djauher was a man of surpassing energy, promptitude, and military skill. He seems also to have been gifted with rare discernment in the selection of fitting instruments to execute his plans. Egypt was quieted by a series of rapid and crushing blows; Syria was invaded and that province added to the dominions of Moezz. But a more formidable enemy was at hand. Hassan-ibn-Ahmed, the Carmathian ruler, had had the amazing effrontery to solicit the co-operation of the Bagdad Caliph Moti to destroy the Fatimites. The Caliph rejected the proposal with indignation, declaring the Carmathian and the Fatimite to be, one as bad as the other; but Hassan not discouraged, determined to make the attempt alone. Gathering together a large army, which was further recruited by the relics of the Egyptian insurrections, he advanced against Damascus. For awhile the Carmathian carried all before him. After a brilliant victory the gates of Damascus were thrown open to him, and he advanced towards Ramlah. Djanher, in the meanwhile, had despatched a force into Syria to support the troops already there. But before its arrival, these troops had been cut to pieces in the battle before Damascus, and the reinforcement was compelled to seek shelter in Jaffa, and were closely besieged. Leaving a detachment to maintain the blockade, Hassan marched against Fostât. Djanher was awaiting him. He had encircled the capital with a deep trench; arms had been distributed to the populace, and spies were sent out in all directions to bring the earliest intelligence of the approach of the enemy. On Friday the first day of the first Rebi, A.H. 361, the Carmathians came in sight. The battle raged for two whole days, when the Carmathians were defeated with prodigious slaughter. They fled, abandoning their camp, their provisions, and all their treasure. They had never received such a crushing blow. It confirmed the power of the Fatimites beyond the fear of overthrow; and Moezz, after much hesitation, determined upon coming in person to take possession of his new province. He made his entry into Fostât on the 7th Ramadan, A.H. 362, accompanied by his brothers and his children, and all the descendants of the Mehdi Obeidollah. On the 15th of the same month, the Caliph, seated on a throne of gold, received the most distinguished men of the province. Djauher presented them in the order of their precedence. Lastly he came forward himself to offer the presents he had prepared in honour of his master's arrival. These were, 1,—one hundred and

fifty horses with saddles of gold, and bridles studded with precious stones, and inlaid with amber. 2.—Thirty-one silken pavilions borne upon as many Bactrian camels. 3.—Nine riding camels covered with cloth of gold. 4.—Thirty-three mules, seven of which were equipped with saddles and bridles. 5.—One hundred and thirty baggage mules. 6.—Ninety Dromedaries. 7.—Four open caskets containing gold and silver vessels. 8.—One hundred swords enriched with gold and silver. 9.—Two silver caskets filled with precious stones. 10.—A turban studded with gems. 11.—Nine hundred boxes containing an assortment of the most precious objects to be found in Egypt.

We trust we have not entirely exhausted the patience of our readers. We have been tempted into details—perhaps unwarrantable—because, so far as we know, there exists no English account of this most important episode in the history of Islam. To the weakness occasioned in the empire of the Seljukides, by the rising of this new power quite as much as to the Crusades, we owe the preservation of Constantinople, and the time thereby gained, for that consolidation of the European nationalities, which enabled the West to roll back the tide of Muhammadan invasion, when at last the empire of Byzantium succumbed to Othman and his Turks. Hitherto the heretic Shia had been hunted from place to place a mere Ishmaelite, whose hand was against every man, as every man's hand was against him. He had, it is true, broken out again and again into fierce and bloody insurrections, but all such movements were isolated, detached acts of rebellion,—returning to anarchy which all men who had anything to lose, were glad to repress or to see repressed in the promptest and sternest manner. Now they took the field as subjects of a powerful sovereign. The Fatimite Caliphs moreover organised a vast army of missionaries for the secret propagation of their tenets through all Asia. A college was built in Cairo for the regular education of these propagandists. This was named "The Hall of the Sciences." A large sum of money was annually set aside for the payment of the professors and other officials. At the head of the whole establishment was an official known as the chief *Dai* or missionary. This office was hereditary, and descended from father to son, and its duties were manifold. The incumbent had to be thoroughly learned in all the doctrines regarding the descendants of the Prophets, and to give instruction in them. He received all subscriptions for the propagation of the Faith. He held regular assemblies in the Palace for the exposition of doctrines of the sect. These were designated "Conferences of wisdom;" one special sitting was for the *Devoted* or *Initiated*; another for the officers of the court; a third for the general public and chance visitors to the city; a fourth was held in the grand

mosque of Cairo for women; and a fifth in the palace for the benefit of the ladies and female slaves resident in the Harem.*

Admission into the body of the Fatimites was gradual; the neophyte having to pass through nine successive grades of initiation. We have already stated that the difference between the Ismailiens and the other followers of Ali was, that they only acknowledged seven revealed Imams; while the others increased the number to twelve. The difference is said to have arisen in this way. Djafar Sadik—the sixth Imam—had four sons, the eldest of whom was Ismail, whom also he designated as his successor. One day, however, Ismail had the misfortune to be discovered in a state of inebriety, and Djafar Sadik disinherited him, declaring that he could not be his son, but a demon who had assumed his similitude. His second son Mousa was then declared to be his successor to the dignity of the Imam. The majority of the believers in the Imam accepted this decision, and on the death of Djafar Sadik transferred their allegiance to Mousa. But a small portion who held all the positive prohibitions of the Koran to be only allegories, remained attached to Ismail, and on his death to his son Muhammad. In their eyes the inebriety of Ismail was a virtue rather than otherwise, as a positive proof of his acceptance of an inner and hidden meaning in the precepts of religion. Between the disappearance of Muhammad, and the dynasty of the Fatimites, seven lieutenants or representatives of the Imams succeeded each other. These are styled the concealed Imams, because they had to conceal themselves

* Silvestre de Sacy gives the following extract from one of these discourses. The speaker wishing to prove to an audience of women that it did not suffice to know God and the doctrine of the Unity without a knowledge also of the Imam and his ministers proceeds as follows:—"If any one among you says 'I have acknowledged the unity, of God; I have never failed to make this confession of faith, and I can have no need of a Mediator,' the perception of the truth is hidden from that woman. Have you not heard in the conferences of wisdom that which has been spoken of a *torch*, which in its perfect state represents the religion of Unity, but which ceases to be a torch as soon as its several parts are divided from each other. Then the wax by itself is called 'the wax,' the wick 'the wick,' the flame 'the flame,' the chandelier 'the chandelier,' but

when all are united—the wax, the wick, the flame and the chandelier—these together constitute the complete torch. Know then, oh! female believers in the Unity! why this parable has been set before you. It is in order that you may know you cannot attain to a right apprehension of the religion of Unity unless you include in that apprehension all the ministers of that religion. Has it not been declared to you in these conferences that the Koran is a living being? When its chapters, its grand divisions in ten and in five parts, and its verses are all combined into one, then the Koran is complete; but when its chapters are divided and parted one from another, no one would call that a complete Koran. When entire it is the symbol or representative of the Imam, and men call it the 'Word of God.'"

from the persecution of the Caliphs. It is to the fourth of these concealed Imams, who lived about the middle of the third century after the Hijra, that the system is attributed of initiation by degrees. To understand this and its power over the mind we must try to gain some perception of the mental condition of the people of that time.

The great endeavour of what considers itself as pre-eminently "Modern Thought" is to get rid of the supernatural altogether; and we have so hoodwinked ourselves with phrases about "Nature" that many suppose this to have been done, and rank the achievement among the greatest of the nineteenth century. But the Physicists are, in truth, still very far from having the dominion of existence to themselves. The supernatural is blended indissolubly with the stream of our ordinary life. Any one who puts forth his hand or foot, to check a rolling stone, puts forth a *supernatural* power which counteracts a natural one—the action of gravity—*supernatural* we say in the most literal meaning of the term, because it acts under no compulsion, is self-originated, and may be put forth or withheld at pleasure. In like manner, every triumph of man over nature, from the time when the first savage fashioned his spear of flint, to these days of Atlantic cables, and locomotion by steam, are a series of victories won by supernatural power over the forces of nature. All the marvels of painting, architecture, sculpture and poetry, all the refinements of civilisation are the results of this supernatural power, compelling nature to obey its behests, and give expression to its thought. So long as Man exists, the supernatural cannot be excluded from this visible universe. That which Modern Science has done for us, is not to remove the supernatural out of the universe, but to evoke order out of seeming anarchy. Her torch has dispelled that huge shadow host of secondary agencies—Djins, Divs, Genii, Fairies and the like—wherewith a younger world was perplexed and tormented. And this she has done so completely, that most of us find a difficulty in conceiving how any human beings ever regarded them as credible. Still there are moments even in our lives, when we are conscious of feelings as if those old beliefs were attempting once more to force an entrance into the mind. At times of undisturbed communion with nature,—on the lonely summits of the hills, or in the deep silence of woods,

The fair humanities of old religion

The power, the beauty and the majesty

That had their haunts in dale or piney mountain,

revive again, and the world seems as in days of old, to be endowed with a conscious life. But most of all is this feeling strengthened when we are in any danger from the fury of the elements. Then we can readily apprehend how the untutored intellects

of an earlier world, should have imagined a personal agency directing the *fury* of the sea or the *pitiless* pelting of the blinding rain. And so it is, that even to this day, the men who are most prone to this,—shall we say superstition—are precisely those whose lives are most exposed to moving accidents by flood and field. There has rarely been a great general, without his "lucky day" or "his star of destiny," or some other *deus ex machina* to lighten the obscure, and give hope in seasons of difficulty. Sailors have constructed quite a pantheon of lesser deities out of Mother Carey's chickens, and materials of a like kind. And there is not, in truth, a single superstition about the invisible world that haunted the regions of Islam, the counterpart of which may not be found flourishing under the patronage of the Church in any Roman Catholic country. In the times and countries of which we are writing, every influence combined to give a morbid activity to such exercises of the imagination. Science, as we understand it, had absolutely no existence, and the life of man was one long struggle with the ruthless forces of nature. In later times indeed, some of the more intelligent Arabs declared the earth to be globular, but at this period few would have dissented from the orthodox opinion that it was flat, spread out "as a bed," or "as a carpet." Round this flat earth was "the circumambient ocean," and around this again, closing in the entire universe, were "the mountains of Kaf," composed of green chrysolite, and inhabited by countless multitudes of Djins or Genii—the enemies of men. The inhabited portions of the earth, compared with the unknown regions, given up to deserts and demons, were as a tent pitched in the midst of the desert. And even here, such favoured spots as the gardens of Damascus, were but oases blooming in a vast and dreary ocean of sand. The appalling solitude, and still more appalling dangers of those sandy wastes, were the parents of innumerable superstitions. "In this world," says De Quincy, "there are two mighty forms of perfect solitude—the ocean and the desert; the wilderness of the barren sands, and the wilderness of the barren waters. Both are the parents of inevitable superstitions—of terrors, solemn, ineradicable, eternal Voices seem to blend with the roaring of the sea, which will for ever impress the feelings of beings more than human; and every chamber of the great wilderness which, with little interruption, stretches from the Euphrates to the Western shores of Africa has its own peculiar terrors both as to sights and sounds. In the wilderness of Sin, between Palestine and the Red Sea bells are heard daily pealing for matins or for vespers, from some phantom convent that no search of Christian or of Bedouin Arab has ever been able to discover. Other sounds, trumpets, the *Alala* of armies, &c., are heard in other regions of the desert.

... Forms, also, are seen of more people than have any right to be walking in human paths; sometimes forms of avowed terror, sometimes—which is a case of far more danger—appearances that mimic the shapes of men, and even of friends and comrades." The mind which has thus once fairly lost its equipoise, seems powerless to regain it. The one feeling or faculty to which it has subordinated its other capacities rules over them with absolute power. The Moslem became a slave to his imagination. The life of man was hedged round on every side with occult and malignant powers; his entire existence was dependent upon charms, amulets, the prayers of exceptionally good men, or the magic of exceptionally bad. The whole course of his history—incessant tumult but no progress, endless change without any apparent purpose—fostered this belief in a capricious Power—or rather in a host of capricious Powers—presiding over the destinies of the world. Every thing within or around him being utterly inexplicable,—being altogether a maze without a plan—there could be no degrees of credibility. Centuries of close discussion have enabled us to fix with tolerable precision the boundaries of human knowledge. But the Moslem walked the earth with all the "blank misgivings of a creature moving about in worlds not realised." What was the secret of it all; the hidden principle of life that assumed these innumerable forms? "A hair," so writes a Persian Poet of this very era:—

"A hair, they say, divides the False and True;
Yes; and a single Alif were the clue,
Could you but find it, to the Treasure House,
And, peradventure, to THE MASTER too."

The essence of the Shia doctrine, as we explained in our last paper, was devotion to the Imam. For this end, the Koran was said to have an outer sense in which it was received by the vulgar, and an inner which could be apprehended only by the spiritual few. This inner sense was in truth nothing but a negation of morality, which was swallowed up in the one duty of devotion to the Imam. The chiefs of this sect perceived plainly that men, however depraved they might be, could seldom be brought to accept such teaching all at once. Many men, too, there were, who had no wish to emancipate themselves and their fellows from all moral restraints. Different characters needed different modes of approach. It behoved the good missionary to become all things to all men, if by any means he might convert some. He discovered his doctrines bit by bit; a small number only were admitted to the innermost grade. The one doctrine common to every neophyte, was a blind and absolute obedience to the Imam, who was held to be incarnate in the person of the Fatimite Caliph. This formed the first stage in the process of initiation, and was effected in this fashion.

The *Dai* having accosted this or that man, and engaged him in a discussion upon theology, would ply him with such questions as these,—why had God created the world in seven days?—why had he thought proper to make seven heavens and seven climates?—why did the first chapter of the Koran contain only seven verses?—why were there twelve months in the year?—what was the hidden meaning of the rites during the pilgrimage at Mecca?—why was man alone upright among animals?—why had he ten fingers and ten toes, no more and no less?—what meaning was involved in certain enigmatic expressions to be found in the Koran—with many others too numerous to mention. In general, such questions shook the soul of the Moslem with fear and anxiety. He knew that there were marvellous powers in the mere word 'Allah' whereby men could annihilate time and space, liberate themselves from this prison-house of flesh, and traverse the realms of air, as disembodied spirits. He knew, or at least he believed, that magicians and enchanters could peer into the secrets of the heart, could make the forms of the absent appear by the power of their art, could compel beings of supernatural power to fetch and carry for them like household drudges, bought in the slave market: and that these marvels were possible mainly by the use of incantations—the mysterious power resident in language. The puzzling queries propounded by the *Dai* seemed to place him at the very gate of similar mysteries. But how to enter in? The *Dai*, as soon as he saw that his shaft had struck the mark, became as reserved as he had been communicative. He had nothing further to state except this—that an oath of unconditional obedience was the indispensable condition of further knowledge. The oath being taken, the second degree was entered upon.

In this, the inquirer was instructed that to the Imams alone had been entrusted the duty of teaching the Faithful, and that all the calamities which had fallen upon Islam were due to the abandonment of these true Teachers, for so-called Doctors, who had neither knowledge nor authority. The fourth degree made the inquirer acquainted with the special tenets regarding the Imamate held by the Ismailiens. This degree was of great importance. The inquirer was taught that since the creation of the world there had been seven "Periods," each distinguished by its own peculiar religion, promulgated by its special legislator or prophet. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, and lastly Muhammad the son of Ismail, were these seven legislators or prophets. In Muhammad, the son of Ismail, terminated the cycle of old faiths with their positive precepts, and inculcation of the letter; and with him began the knowledge of that mystical significance latent in all the preceding religions. The proselyte who passed through this

grade, ceased by that very act to be a Moslem ; since contrary to the positive prohibition of the prophet, he acknowledged a prophet posterior to Muhammad. In the fifth degree, the mind of the inquirer was imbued with a contempt for the Traditions, and the letter of the written Word. All moral commands, he was instructed, and all religious ceremonies were to be explained allegorically. Then some faint adumbration of the Pythagorean doctrine of numbers was brought in, to strengthen the special doctrines of the sect. Thus the seven Imams were declared to be figured and foreshadowed, in the seven planets, the seven heavens, the seven climates, and so forth. Each Imam had twelve principal ministers to make him known throughout the world, and these were symbolised in the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the twelve months of the year, the twelve tribes of Israel. The sixth degree made known to the proselyte the mystical sense concealed beneath the letter, resolving everything into the one duty of obedience to the Imam. Very few, however, of the proselytes advanced so far as this ; and still fewer, even among the missionaries, penetrated further than this sixth degree. In the seventh degree, the proselyte was made to observe that each one of the great prophets had had an assistant to preserve and propagate his doctrine ; thus Abraham had his son Ishmael ; Moses, Aaron ; Jesus, Simeon ; Muhammad, Ali ; and finally Ismail, the last of the Imams, had his son Muhammad. This species of duplicity he was then taught to perceive extended through the whole constitution of things. From the creation of the world there had been two living principles—the higher, *that which gives*—the lower, *that which receives* ; the one, male and life-giving ; the other, female and life-bearing. The object of this grade was to destroy the doctrine of the Unity by asserting the co-eternity of matter. The eighth degree developed this doctrine further. The two co-eternal principles, under the designation of *that which precedes* and *that which follows* were fused together into a vast and shadowy system of Pantheism which represented good and evil, joy and sorrow, pleasure and pain, as manifestations of one changeless essence—a constant *becoming*, or everlasting process of evolution not unlike the operations of Hegel's famous principle of identity. Before this last revelation the entire fabric of past faiths crumbled into ruins. The miracles by which Prophets had enforced their teaching were merely an allegorical account of the rising of one religion on the ruins of that which preceded it ; the resurrection, the end of the world, the last judgment, the distribution of rewards and punishments, were figurative expressions to signify the recurring cycles of the stars—the death and new birth of all living things, from the inherent affinities and organic properties of matter. Arrived at the ninth degree, with his own former faith, as well as every other

shattered into indistinguishable ruin, with every precept of morality merged in a vague Pantheism, which converted the world into a terrible and unmeaning chaos; the proselyte was cast loose, to enjoy his freedom if he pleased, or should he prefer it, to choose from among the systems of philosophy, that which pleased him best. Coleridge has remarked on the appalling power of evil which the most insignificant man could put forth, who had completely emancipated himself from the dominion of conscience. Such men were the instruments the Fatimite Caliphs sought to frame, not without success, for their warfare with the Caliphs of Bagdad; and in the person of Hasan Ibn Sabah, first Grand Master of "the Assassins" they gave a terrible proof of the truth of Coleridge's remark.

Hasan Ibn Sabah, when yet a youth, was the companion and friend of two eminent men—Nizām-ul-Mulk the illustrious Prime Minister of the Seljuk Sultans, Alp Arslan and Malek Shah; and Omar Khayam, the astronomer and poet, whose name is in some degree familiar to English readers by the beautiful translation of his *Rubaiyat*. The Prime Minister has given an account of this connection which we reproduce from Mirkhond's History of the Assassins. "The Imam Mouafik, Nishapori," he writes, "one of the most illustrious doctors of Khorasan was every where held in honour, and his society sought out as a source of good fortune. It was the general opinion that all young men who were educated by him in the knowledge of the Koran and the traditions, obtained the favours of fortune. It was this belief which induced my father to send me from Thous to Nishapore. Two young men of my own age, Hakim Omar Khayam and the unfortunate Hasan Ibn Sabah, had also been entrusted to the care of the Imam a short time before I came. They were both gifted with excellent abilities, and we struck up a close friendship. Omar had been born at Nishapore; and Hasan Ibn Sabah had as his father, Ali, a man who led an austere and ascetic life, but who professed erroneous opinions, and was, in a word, suspected of heresy. Abu Moslem, Razi, Governor of the province of Rei, where Ali dwelt, was remarkable for the purity of his faith and his zeal in the cause of orthodoxy. He openly declared himself the enemy of Ali; and the latter sought by lying words and false oaths to exculpate himself from the accusations of the Governor. As the Imam Mouafik Nishapori was held to be a model of right thinking and orthodox belief, this unfortunate man to remove from himself all suspicion of heresy, sent his son to Nishapore to study under the Imam. As for himself, he retired into a monastery, and devoted himself to a life of religious seclusion; at times, nevertheless, he was accused of an heretical attachment to the

doctrines of the Motazales; and at other times, of scepticism and atheism. He claimed to be of Arabic extraction of the family of Sabah Homān; and said that his father first settled at Kufah, then at Kom, and finally at Rei. But the people of Khorasan, and particularly those of Thous, wholly discredited this statement, asserting that his ancestors had all along been inhabitants of that province. To come however to my tale; one day Hassan said to Khayam and me, 'It is a generally held opinion that the pupils of the Imam come to greatness; and doubtless, although the three of us cannot hope for equal good fortune, some one among us will verify the universal conviction regarding the Imam. In such case, what agreement shall we three make together?' 'Whatever you propose,' we replied. 'Well,' said he, 'let this be our engagement, that whoever among us shall attain to wealth or honour shall hold his possessions as common to all three.' We agreed to this proposal and bound ourselves by promises. The years went by, and I became Prime Minister to Alp Arslan; Hakimi Omar Khayam came to me, and I did my utmost to fulfil the letter and spirit of our engagements." Omar Khayam would however take nothing, but permission to live at peace in Nishapore, on a small pension. "At Nishapore," adds the Vizier, "thus lived and died Omar Khayam, busied in winning knowledge of every kind, and especially in astronomy, wherein he attained to a very high pre-eminence." The wise poet had no wish to stretch himself upon the rack of this tough world. He has left us his philosophy of life.

Some for the glories of this world; and some

Sigh for the Prophet's paradise to come,

Ah, take the cash and let the promise go

Nor heed the music of a distant drum!

Were it not folly spider-like to spin

The thread of present life away to win—

What? for ourselves who know not if we shall

Breathe out the very breath we now breathe in!

"As for Hassan," proceeds the Vizier, "he had remained obscure and unknown the entire reign of Alp Arslan, and it was not until the time of Malek Shah, that he came to Nishapore, and made himself known. I received him with the greatest honours, and strove in every way to acquit myself honourably of the engagement I had contracted towards him when we were both young men." * In short Nizam-ul-Mulk obtained for his former friend an influential place at Court; and Hassan at once commenced to use his new position to plot the ruin of his benefactor. A long series of

* The above passages though printed literal rendering of the Persian, but in inverted commas are not a condensed paraphrase.

plots, and counter-plots terminated in Hassan having brought himself into a position where he was in imminent danger of losing his head. He fled from the Court of Malek Shah, and after escaping many dangers and long wanderings he passed into Egypt and entered the service of Mostansir, the reigning Fatimite Caliph. It is important to note this incident. Malek Shah was a supporter of the Bagdad Caliphs and a Sunni, and only as an orthodox Moslem could Hassan have entered into his service. The ease with which he passed from orthodoxy to the atheism of the Ismailien, is the first evidence we have of that utter callousness of conscience which made him such a terrible scourge of the human race. Mostansir assigned him a residence in Cairo, and distinguished him by other marks of favour. At one time his prospects were so bright, that people spoke of him as about to become the Prime Minister. These changed with the swiftness characteristic of an Eastern Court. "A man is not perfect," was the maxim laid down by the Vizier of the Caliph Al-Mutassem, "unless he have abilities sufficient for elevating to the pulpit his friend though a simple soldier of police, and for sending to the gibbet his enemy, though a Vizier;" and a rival who had both the will and the capacity to act upon this rule of conduct converted for Hassan, the prospects of a Viziership into the reality of a dungeon in the Castle of Damietta. He was, however, released; and returning to Syria, spent three years preaching the tenets of the Ismailiens in Bagdad, Ispahan and other places, and making a great number of converts until A.D. 1090, when, partly by force, partly by stratagem, he obtained possession of the Castle of Alamut. Alamut (i.e., the vulture's nest) so called from its impregnable position, is the largest and strongest of fifty castles which lie scattered about the district of Rudbar, at the distance of sixty parasangs north of Kasvin. This he resolved to make his capital, and he proceeded at once to strengthen the fortifications; he caused a canal to be dug, bringing water from a considerable distance to the foot of the castle; and planted groves of fruit trees around the cliffs on which the fortress was built. It was here too, that he reduced to a system the vague plans of aggrandisement he had now cherished through so many years of misfortune and obscurity.

Hassan perceived that in Central Asia, torn and distracted as it was, it needed only a ruthless tenacity of purpose for a man situated as he now was, to become a formidable potentate. The endless confusions of that period had filled Central Asia and Syria with hordes of armed men similar to the "Free Lances" who roamed over Europe during the long wars between France and England. Their military skill and practised rapacity were at the disposal of any one who could hold out pay or prospects.

of plunder; and Hassan Ibn Sabah, possessed of a strong fort, would have had but to hold up his hand, to collect abundant partisans around him. But this, the established method of carving a way to a throne, was too coarse and uncertain for his political subtlety. He had seen all his life that thrones, built up with a mercenary soldiery for foundation never resisted a single defeat. He must contrive some plan whereby he should at once fix himself deeply in the hearts of his subjects, and the fear of him not less deeply in the hearts of his enemies. The appearance of religious zeal should effect the one; and the secret use of the dagger, the other. It should be his to weld together into one cutting and irresistible weapon, the unquestioning devotion of religious fanaticism, and the cold calculating prudence of utter inhumanity. He perceived that hitherto the Ismailiens had committed a fatal error in their method of proselytism. They had not been sufficiently careful to conceal the atheism and anarchy which lurked at the root of their teaching. Hassan determined this should no longer continue. These tenets were now withdrawn into an impenetrable obscurity even from the mass of his own followers. To the world in general he stood forth—as a follower of Ali it is true—but also as a Moslem adhering strictly to the positive teaching of the Koran; demanding from his subjects a rigorous abstinence from wine, and the due and proper fulfilment of all the rites required of the Faithful. For the purpose of inculcating this return to the zeal of a primitive faith, he created a hierarchy of seven grades, which spread themselves through all Asia. And, as it always must be, that times, when disorder, misery, and irreligion are at the highest, are also those when thousands of devout hearts long most earnestly for a spiritual reformation; the efforts of these missionaries were eminently successful. But behind these, and concealed from the knowledge of the world—an inner circle within the larger—were initiated carefully selected proselytes into that secret training which should fit them to become the co-operators and lieutenants of the Ismailien chief. This, as at Cairo, consisted in passing the student through a variety of grades up to the inculcation of the utter indifference of human actions. Hassan was himself Grand Master of the Order; next to him came his grand Priors or Lieutenants scattered through Persia and Syria, as the sect gradually won adherents in those countries; then came the *Dais* or missionaries—the teachers of the secret doctrines; the *Rafeek*, or those engaged in learning; then the *Devoted* or those who had taken the oath of unquestioning obedience; and lastly the *Aspirants*, who waited for the permission of the Grand Master to commence the process of initiation. Of these different classes, the one with which we are chiefly concerned is the *Devoted*. These supplied the murderers.

They were young men selected on account of their physical strength and courage. The whole object of their training was to inspire them with a spirit of absolute and utter submission to the Grand Master founded upon a conviction of his divine authority. There were two elements in the faith of a Moslem which rendered this object more easy of attainment than at first sight it appears to be. Muhammad, as we stated in our last paper, addressed God as the Merciful and the Compassionate, and these epithets were invariably attached to His name. But His mercy and compassion extended only to the Faithful. Unbelievers were to be cut off simply as such by fair means or foul. Had not the blessed Prophet himself slaughtered a whole Jewish tribe numbering some seven hundred men after they had surrendered themselves to his mercy? Had not the blessed Prophet moreover, once and again—some three or four times in fact—made use of the secret dagger and the midnight assassin to rid himself of rivals who were dangerous to himself and enemies of God? The practice of assassination then, was established by the most valid precedents as an equitable proceeding provided only the authority was good who gave the order. Hassan Ibn Sabah would not therefore lack instruments to execute his purposes if he could only convince them of his *right* to command them. The Muhammadan conception of Paradise rendered this a not very difficult matter. Sometimes in these latter days there is an attempt made to persuade people that Muhammad in his description of Paradise did not mean veritable damsels, or the veritable pleasures of the flesh. These things, we are asked to believe, were an allegory; and there is no doubt that in the palmy days of Bagdad, the contact with Greek philosophy and the infiltration of Christian thought operated as most potent solvents on the coarse materialism of the early Arab faith. Philosophic minds—"the Wise" as they were designated—dealt with the legends of the Koran, precisely in the same manner as the Neo-Platonists treated the old Greek mythologies. Muhammad's Paradise as well as much else, vanished in the most unmeaning jumble of language and ideas that ever styled itself 'Philosophy' since the foundation of the world. The streams of heaven and hell became the pleasures and pains endured during the time of the soul's progress and regress. The rivers of milk were held to signify rivers of knowledge for noble persons; the celestial wine served out to the Faithful was the removal of terror and fear and sadness; and the dark-eyed Houris, "concealed in the pavilions" were scientific secrets hidden from the eyes of the profane by a veil. But certainly the Faithful in Islam rejected these heretical notions with scorn and indignation. "It is related (in the Hak-ul-Yakeen) that Alubaseer addressed the Imam Sadik,

saying, "May I be your sacrifice! O descendant of the Prophet, excite my desires for Paradise." The Imam replied, "There is a river in Paradise on whose banks maidens grow, and whenever a believer passes and is charmed with one of them and takes her away, the Most High causes another to grow in her place." "May I be your sacrifice!" said the man, "still more increase my longing desire." The Imam continued, "Every believer will have seven thousand virgins, four thousand women, and seven thousand Houries." "May I be your sacrifice!" exclaimed Abubaseer, "will every believer have seven thousand virgins?" "Yes," rejoined the Imam * and then proceeds to enter into the most delicate details regarding "the marrow of their ankles" which will shine through "their seventy dresses" with other particulars quite unquotable. "This seems to us tolerably decisive on the matter. At any rate, whatever is the case with the Moslem generally, Hassan Ibn Sabah knew his followers too well to introduce the allegorical method of interpretation into the Prophet's description of Paradise,—and the process in his hands of manufacturing a *Devoted* was very simple indeed. One of these young men would be asked to the table of the Grand Master, and while there laid under the influence of a strong opiate. While still unconscious, he was conveyed away to a delicious garden, and there awoke amid the perfume of flowers, and the cool splashing of fountains, with crowds of dark eyed and obsequious damsels, flitting around him. After a few days passed in this Paradise, he was again rendered insensible and retransferred to the light of common day. To an illiterate uneducated mind, what stronger proof could be given of the supernatural power of the Grand Master? Paradise was no longer an anticipation; he had actually seen it and tasted of its pleasures. The momentary agony of death alone divided him from their unbroken fruition. He was only called upon to obey and die. Faith had been turned into sight.

Hardly, however, had Hassan established himself in Alamut, than he was assailed. The Sultan Malek Shah despatched a force with orders to take the castle and exterminate the defenders. Hassan was on the point of capitulating when one of his lieutenants, Abu Ali, who was making proselytes in Kasvin, sent three hundred men who effected a junction with the garrison, and in a night attack completely dispersed the besieging force. This check only stimulated the determination of Malek Shah. He ordered another body of troops to march; this time against Hassan's Lieutenant, Hossain Kaimi, who was preaching with great effect in the mountains of Kohistan. Hossain took shelter in one of the hill forts and was

* Cited by the Rev. T. Merrick, in Muhammad. his work on the Life and Religion of

blockaded. To extricate his Lieutenant, Hassan had recourse for the first time to the dagger. Nizam-ul-Mulk, the aged minister of Malek Shah, was stabbed to death; and Malek Shah followed him to the grave a few weeks after, not without strong suspicion of poison. This occurred A.H. 485 (A.D. 1093), and the anarchy that immediately ensued enabled Hassan Sabah to consolidate his power. The vast kingdom of the Seljukides was torn in pieces by the struggles of rival claimants, and Asia from Herat to the Caspian Sea resounded with the tramp of marching armies.

R. D. O.

(To be continued.)

ART. VI.—THE BENĀL COMMISSARIAT.

“ PART III. (*Conclusion.*)

“ **N**OUS avons changé tout cela.” This familiar quotation is ordinarily accepted as the embodiment of a somewhat capricious sentiment of a too fickle people ; but, rightly interpreted, it will be found eminently suggestive of modern progress. The apophthegm has a double significance. It may either be regarded in its retrospective sense as the positive affirmation of a plain fact, or it may be taken as an announcement on the part of the speaker of a determination to desert old grooves entirely, and to be guided in thoughts and actions, present and prospective, by an altered and improved order of ideas and circumstances. To know when to adopt the sentiment in its latter sense and put its precepts into practice, is to possess a rare sagacity and prevision worthy a great statesman. Much undoubtedly has been done of late years in India to remove the quondam stigma, that were British rule withdrawn, no evidence of its pre-existence would remain, save in the ubiquitous presence of empty beer bottles ; but still it must be confessed, that the chrysalis of European civilisation has taken, and is taking, an uncommonly long time to inchoate in this country. The fault, it is believed, lies in the several Governors-General succeeding Lord Dalhousie, either having failed to appreciate the situation presented to them in the manner above commended, or, to their having been kept in leading strings, and bound over to a policy provided cut and dry for them before leaving England. Though the stagnation complained of is general, in no direction is it so manifest as in the military policy of the country, which as a subject-matter cognate to this article must be briefly adverted to.

In the pages of a certain Blue Book, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 17th August 1871, will be found several valuable minutes, recording the opinions of very high authorities on the subject of Indian Military policy. Before proceeding to notice these, it may be useful first to explain the *raison d'être* of the said Blue Book itself. The very voluminous correspondence it contains, covering nearly 400 pages, appears to have been educed by a despatch from the Secretary of State, dated 28th January 1869, wherein the Duke of Argyll “in considering recently, in Council, the present state of taxation in India” discovers, that no reduction can be made in civil charges, but, suggests, that the military expenditure should be reduced, and to this end, that a searching review of all its branches should be made “on the same principle as that adopted in 1859-60.” Army

and Garrison Staff, and the Commissariat, Barrack, and Stud Departments, being more particularly pointed out as promising possible retrenchments. The late Lord Mayo's government, while declining to appoint a commission like that of 1859-60, somehow, for it is not satisfactorily explained on what grounds, but it is presumed under financial pressure, and probably seeing no other expedient open, jumped to the conclusion, that reduction in the strength of the army, European and Native, was demanded by the Secretary of State. Accordingly four or five schemes were elaborated, each exhibiting great reductions in strength, to the extent of 9,000 men in the Native Army alone; but none of these met the approval of His Grace of Argyll, who objected to them mainly on the ground, that the major portion of the reductions proposed in the Native forces would fall unequally on the Madras Army. Meantime, Lord Napier of Magdala became Commander-in-Chief, and backed by the puissant Horse Guards, objected to reductions in strength in toto, and raised his warning voice with such effect, that the idea of completing those under projection was finally abandoned. The Duke of Argyll in retiring from the position he had taken up, reminded the Indian Government, that in his original despatch he had never hinted even at reduction of strength in troops, but had merely hoped for saving in military expenditure through more economical management without sacrifice in strength. The general result was, that a few divisional commands were abolished, a few changes were made in the pay of the officers of the Body Guard, an Eurasian Battery of Artillery was disbanded, the services of two European Cavalry Regiments were dispensed with, and the cadres (not rank and file) of fourteen Batteries of Artillery were reduced. In short, a comparatively insignificant saving in expenditure was effected. Great cry and little wool. Yet, though they missed the true mark, the Duke of Argyll and Lord Napier of Magdala had reason in their opinions, each from his own point of view. On the one hand, who with the slightest experience can doubt, that a considerable saving in expenditure, civil as well as military, could be effected by a rigorous and intelligent scrutiny of the details of all its branches. To cite an instance in point, all authorities mentioned in the Blue Book referred to, unanimously concurred in opinion, that no decrease in the expenditure of the Commissariat Department was possible through administrative action; whereas, Part II. of this Article has indeed been written in vain, if it does not point to a far different conclusion. The appointment of a self-seeking and expensive commission like that of 1859-60 is indeed to be deprecated, but surely there are members of the Council, who could bring the requisite industry, independence, and ability to a task so important. On the other hand, who, after reading the

Blue Book aforesaid, could remain unconvinced that Lord Napier had good reason for strenuously resisting all diminution of military strength as premature and impolitic, if not indeed dangerous.

No less is it certain, however, that great saving in military expenditure can only be expected from organic changes in the military policy heretofore pursued. These changes on the other hand cannot be safely attempted until the completion of the North-Western and North-Eastern Frontier systems of railways and arterial strategic lines, enabling the forces serving in the various Provinces of the empire (except Burmah) to co-operate freely and act as reserves one to the other; and, until a disarmament of the Native States, and a general disarming of their peoples, have been effected. It may be well to quote the opinion of the late lamented Lord Mayo on this important point, expressed in a singularly lucid and statesmanlike minute, dated 3rd October 1870. "It is possible, that the forces of the Native chiefs, who are individually friendly to us cannot be relied on. The existence of such armies is no doubt an evil in itself. I think that many of the arrangements made after the mutiny were unfortunate in this respect." But this brings the schemes of military policy above adverted to on the tapis.

The late Sir Henry Durand, and Sir William Mansfield (Lord Sandhurst) had each an alternative scheme. The former proposed, that the Commands-in-Chief at Madras and Bombay, with the staff and offices thereto attached should be reduced; and, that there should be either only one Commander-in-Chief for all India with full executive power, but having no seat in Council, or that there should be a Commander-in-Chief for the forces north of the Nerbudda line, and another subordinate Commander-in-Chief for those stationed south of that stream. The latter scheme, though fathered by Sir Henry Durand, was not strongly advocated by him. Sir William Mansfield proposed.—I. The appointment of a War Minister for India on a similar footing, and position to that held in the French army. The war minister, to remain always with the Supreme Government, and to have control of all departments of the Army, Pay, Ordnance, Military Works, Commissariat, etc. etc., included. Further, that there should be five Lieutenant-Generals commanding distinct Corps d'Armée in Madras, Bombay, including Central Provinces, Government of the Punjab and Sindh, Governments of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, including Malwa, Rajpootana, and Central Provinces north of the Nerbudda, and the Governments of Bengal and Burmah. These Lieutenant-Generals to have military functions only. II.—Or that the commands at Madras and Bombay should be abolished and no other change made.

These schemes may be very scientific and ably conceived, and the first proposed by Sir William Mansfield is unquestionably so, but it is hardly probable, that any one of them will be carried out in its entirety. Still considered collectively in conjunction with the remarks above made, it may be accepted, that sufficiently reliable premises are afforded, wherefrom to cast the promised horoscope of the Commissariat Department with tolerable accuracy.

The changes anticipated will lead in natural sequence to the following results, each affecting, more or less, the future of the Commissariat Department.

I.—Obliteration of all distinctions between the present presidential limits, as far at least as military purposes are concerned.

II.—The assumption by the State of the direct control and management of the frontier and other strategical lines of railway, including the telegraphs therewith connected.

III.—The reorganisation of the different transport services.

IV.—The redistribution of troops, garrisons, and magazines. Let these points have seriatim consideration. The extinction of presidential limits will obviously have the effect of centralising all military control, and will thus affect the "personnel" of the Commissariat, in common with that of other Army Departments. Only one Commissary General will be needed, who, it is hoped, will have direct communication with the Government, and be held strictly responsible for the economical as well as efficient working of the Department throughout India. Of course the present Departments in each presidency will become amalgamated. This unification will have many good results. A wider field of experience will be presented to the officers and employes generally, tending greatly to the increase of their efficiency; while the advantages and defects of the different systems obtaining in each of the presidencies will be forced into contrast, and comparison. An *entente cordiale* will be established amongst the superior officers, and a more elevated *esprit de corps* induced, through the extinction of petty inter-departmental jealousies, of the existence of which evidence was not wanting when the Bengal and Bombay Commissariats were brought into contact during the Abyssinian Campaign. What saving by reduction in the number of offices and establishments may be possible will much depend upon whether troops are more or less concentrated, but probably some may be expected. On the other hand, assimilation of the systems of account, and the abolition of separate offices of audit, will be attended with great general convenience, and no small diminution of expenditure. Uniformity of system will also not be without a certain effect in reducing and equalising prices. It might further be shown, that the establishment of a unified Imperial Commissariat for India

will not be without influence on civilisation and progress, if the Department be regarded as a vehicle of disseminating more advanced and cosmopolitan ideas through the medium of its large clientele of intelligent native contractors and agents.

Much has been said, and even sung, in eulogy of the railway as the great pioneer of modern civilisation, and tomes of volumes have been indited illustrative of its value as a promoter of the arts of peace. Its uses and effects in war would appear, however, to have engaged a comparatively limited measure of attention, particularly in insular England. For this reason probably, no general maxims, for its suitable employment as an ancillary element of military power, have been available for guidance in India, where the railway system has been initiated, and is still being developed, without subordination to any intelligible principles of strategy whatever. Were other proof of this wanting, sufficient might be found in the fact, that the military force in the North-West or Trans-Indus frontier, which, as to its vulnerability by an external force may be regarded in its relation to the Indian empire, as the very heel of Achilles, remains to this day unsupported by the wings of modern war, as railways may not inaptly be styled. It is luckily not too late, though doubtless difficult, to retrieve this great error; and it cannot be too strongly urged, that to this end a commission, competent to the task should even now be appointed to determine upon a strategical system of railways—frontier, seaboard, and internal.

The cost of maintaining standing armies has been called the insurance paid for the security of national property. Hence, whatever tends to render the insurance more reliable, must be a matter of primary importance. Some high military authorities have been inclined to undervalue railways as an auxiliary to military power in India; but it is monstrous to suppose, that the superior mobilisation, and rapidity of assuming the offensive rendered possible through their possession, can be without great effect on both the strategy and tactics of any army, far less of the British army in India, against which, be it remembered, no such power can in turn be opposed. The main objections urged against railways are, the facility with which they can be destroyed, and that, when the possessors are no longer able to hold the country in which they exist the value of the railways to them ceases. These statements taken as affirming truisms are incontrovertible, but may be judged tantamount to a denunciation of human inventions in general. It may be safely concluded from previous experience, that all the races and tribes of Hindustan are never likely to be arrayed together at one time against their conquerors. Such being the case, were the land encompassed by a net work of railways, the destruction of a few of the

meshes would simply have the effect of isolating temporarily the tracts they had intersected, just in the same way as one damaged compartment of an iron vessel may be secluded, without the safety of the vessel itself being seriously compromised. It is also to be said, that the facility with which a railway line is obstructed, or destroyed, may conversely, on occasion prove a positive advantage to a force retreating on its reserves and resources. As regards the second objection, it is argued, that though a railway may become useless to its possessors in case of their having to abandon the country in which it exists, still it need not necessarily afford aid to the enemy. Indeed in India, it is very unlikely to do so; while the possession of a line of rail may often, as Lord Mayo justly remarked, enable a position to be held which could not otherwise be so.

Public opinion in England in 1868-69 was strongly expressed in favour of the assumption by Government of the direct management and control of railways and telegraphs; and, as a consequence, the telegraphs actually passed into Government hands. The railways would have shared the same fate, had the capital been forthcoming to redeem the country from the evil consequences of a quarter of a century of legislative blunders in permitting the construction of railways at haphazard, whereby vast sums were sunk, and wasted on lines which were not needed, and a ruinous over-competition induced. Like considerations, and others of still graver political and military urgency point to the advisability, nay necessity, of railways and telegraphs in India being placed under the sole control of the Government. Their construction, maintenance, and working should be entrusted to the Government engineers, military and civil, while the traffic management of the railways, as also the business details of the telegraphs, should be confided to the Commissariat Department. Of course it would be necessary to train officers specially for these new duties; but, once a skilled staff was secured, it is believed that both railways and telegraphs would be worked with equal efficiency, and with much greater economy, than at present. It is obvious, that in the event of military operations on an extensive scale being necessary, it would be of the first importance that the means of transport should be at the ready disposal of the generals; and that no small advantage would accrue from the railways and telegraphs being administered and worked by officers experienced in the requirements of an army, and accustomed to provide for its wants. Again, Government would assuredly gain considerable increase of influence and patronage, to say nothing of other greater collateral advantages, by assuming the direct control of railways and telegraphs. Notably, there would be no necessity for separate telegraph lines and a separate telegraph

department such as at present exist, nor for a separate staff of consulting engineers.

Before leaving the subject of railways, there is one point more which demands a brief notice. There is no need to renew here the battle of the Guages, or to import into this article any discussion of the comparative merits of the broad and narrow systems of railroads; at the same time a hope must be expressed, that for all strategical lines a uniform guage may be adopted affording adequate carrying power for ordnance of at least medium calibre, and for the heavier munitions of war. It is feared that this desideratum has too frequently been lost sight of in deliberations on this question. Further, it is essential, that a sufficient number of waggons of suitable construction should be provided on all main lines for the conveyance of heavy war material. The value of this latter suggestion will be at once manifest to those who may have experienced the difficulties in despatching heavy artillery and munitions by rail, where only the ordinary rolling stock was available for its accommodation.

With the development of railways, the means of transport at present obtainable for service with troops will of necessity undergo considerable change. Doolie bearers will soon find their occupation gone, and will not be available for hire. It will therefore be needful for Government to maintain a trained establishment of bearers of its own. These men should be enlisted for a fixed period of service and should form part of the transport corps hereinafter advocated. As an expeditious and tender means of conveying wounded men to the rear in action, the doolie stands unrivalled; while too high praise cannot be accorded to the moral courage displayed by the doolie bearers, who in the discharge of their merciful calling, have ever been found willing to bear no inconsiderable part of the risks, without sharing in any of the glory and excitement of battle. The advantage of doolies for conveyance of sick or footsore men on an ordinary march is not so apparent. In the first place, sick men should never be permitted to commence or continue a march whenever they can be treated better in station hospitals; while, on the other hand, ambulances can be provided much cheaper than doolies, and would afford all the relief needed on customary occasions. Ambulances might, therefore, with advantage be largely substituted for doolies for carriage of sick and wounded men on service in the plains. For hill warfare no change in the present equipment will be required.

Again, owing to the impossibility of transporting elephants and camels by rail, the sphere of usefulness of these valuable baggage animals must become much circumscribed. As regards elephants, the circumstance may be deemed a boon for the poor animal at least; for, though useful anywhere, from its great strength, patient

endurance, and docility, it is still but ill adapted for work in the arid and uncongenial plains of the North-West Provinces, and the Punjab, where its vigour and longevity become quickly impaired. It were far better relegated to its proper habitat in its native jungles in Burmah, the North-Eastern frontier and the Nepal Terai, where especially, it must remain invaluable as a beast of burthen for many a long day to come.

The case is much more serious as affecting camels. In the Punjab, Sind, and Central India, camels have hitherto afforded the principal means of transport, and better can nowhere be found. Railways will have the effect not only of driving camels off the roads, but, as a consequence, unless Government takes measures to prevent it, the breed of these animals must become extinct. It would hardly be worth while to maintain the breed of camels for baggage purposes alone, as other means can be substituted without much loss of efficiency. It is surprising, however, how little military men would appear to have appreciated the value of the camel corps raised during the mutiny. What good service riflemen mounted on horseback can perform, was fully exemplified during the last American struggle; when, more than once, the fate of a battle was decided by a judicious employment of such corps. But how much greater is the efficiency of riflemen mounted on fleet and well-trained camels? With native riders guiding, while the European marksmen sit unencumbered "on croupe" ready, if need be, to act as infantry, a camel corps can manœuvre at the rate of seven, if not eight, miles an hour, and can march fifty or sixty miles a day with ease for weeks consecutively. Moving with all the rapidity of Uhlans, and fourfold more formidable, what could not a force so constituted achieve. With what effect could it be employed in checking raids, or in nipping rebellion in the bud? In short, the capability such corps afford of bringing arms of precision to bear with the greatest possible rapidity and effect in any given direction would seem to satisfy all the conditions essential to tactical success. Why the camel corps raised during the Mutiny were disbanded is not remembered, but the sooner the blunder made in this respect is rectified the better. While equal in warlike power to three European cavalry regiments, which are, indeed, placed at great disadvantage in this country, a camel corps such as described is infinitely cheaper to maintain than a single regiment of the latter. Moreover, it must be remembered that by dismounting the extra rider, the camels of such corps might be employed, as occasion required, for baggage purposes; and, considering that camels can move with ease in countries impracticable almost to other beasts of burden, or to wheeled carriage, this must be accounted no small advantage. Having thus briefly enumerated the advantages to be derived, it is recommended, that at

least three or four of such camel corps should be substituted for a like number of costly European cavalry regiments, and that Government should take active measures to prevent the extinction of the breed of camels, if for no other object than the preservation of a novel arm of unique efficiency for India. The defects of the present so-called Rewaree system of supplying camels have been exposed in part II.

It follows, that in the future, reliance will mainly have to be placed for the means of transport on wheeled carriage, and pack animals, mules, ponies and bullocks. Much inconvenience, irritation, and loss are now too often caused to farmers and traders by the withdrawal of their draught cattle for the use of troops; and as the resources of the country expand, the evil will be in proportion enhanced. In the interests of agriculture and commerce these constant requisitions should cease, and it is incumbent on Government to make special arrangements for the provision of draught bullocks for the transport of military stores and baggage, in the same manner as is now done for artillery purposes. Wheeled carriage cannot be employed in the plains where there are no practicable roads, nor can it be employed at all in the hills. Moreover, wheeled carriage cannot very conveniently be dismembered and packed for despatch by rail.

It is therefore advisable, that the transport to be maintained for the future should consist principally of pack animals. Such can travel readily by rail, and are useful under all conditions of service, whether on the plains, or on the hills. It may be anticipated, that movements of troops will generally take place by rail; but for feeding the rail, and to enable each separate corps d'armée to provide its quota of troops effective for any emergency of service arising at a distance from its proper zone of operations, it will be necessary to maintain a suitable equipment of road transport. Generals in all ages have chafed at the anxieties and abstractions caused them by the impedimenta of their armies; and, in India more especially, armies have invariably such a following of uncontrolled, and uncontrollable rabble, as seriously to hamper their operations in the field. To remedy this evil, and to create something like order from the present chaotic confusion, organisation is needed. To this end, it is recommended, that for each corps d'armée one or more land transport corps should be formed, to which doolie bearers, and all baggage cattle and their attendants, should be attached. The men of each class should have a distinctive uniform dress; and both men and animals should receive sufficient training to enable them to perform their duties with system, and to take up and keep their proper places on a march without uproar and confusion. It is doubted whether the location of troops, European and

native, has hitherto been arranged in reference to any general system of military policy. Regiments and detachments are even now scattered, here and there, nearly at random. It was this very objectionable dispersion of the European forces during the Mutiny of 1857, that gave to that revolt all the vitality it acquired. On its first outbreak, had it been possible to concentrate a well appointed force of 5000 Europeans, who, who has read the history of the British conquest of India or who remembers the glorious achievements of Havelock's small force, can doubt that it would speedily have been suppressed. As it was, the Mutiny starting into hydra-headed existence, found itself opposed to weak and scattered detachments of European troops, which could only remain on the defensive; and thus that event witnessed the arms of 45,000 or 50,000 of the bravest troops in the world paralyzed, and all through a vicious system, or rather want of any system, of military strategy.

It is true that since the Mutiny, carriage has been kept up, to enable the ready movement and co-operation of troops to a partial extent; but the European forces are still dangerously scattered. It is hoped that, when perfect railway and telegraphic communication is established, the means of rapid concentration will be secured, and thus great reduction, as well in the strength of troops, as also diminution of military expenditure generally, will be rendered possible in combination with increased efficiency. There is no reason either, as a secondary, but far from immaterial point, why the bulk of the European army should not be located in the hill sanatoria. By this means not only will the present exhaustive drain on England's best manhood be reduced to a minimum, but other great benefits will result. *Inter alia*, it is hoped, that the opportunity of making the European soldier more self-reliant will not be over-looked. It is a national reproach, that recruited principally from the manufacturing classes of the first manufacturing nation in the world, the British soldier is more helpless and less capable of contributing to his own personal comfort than any other. In India more especially, the evil is much aggravated; for, while military reformers generally, and all who have had under consideration the moral and physical well-being of the soldier, deplore what they are pleased to call the enforced idleness to which he is subjected, not the slightest exertion is demanded of him. Of course the stock argument is, that it is not possible for the soldier to work so hard in this climate as in a more temperate zone. The location of troops in the hills will effectually serve to explode this fallacy; but it may in passing be remarked, that the influences of cold, even moderately severe, are as difficult to resist as those of heat. Further, it is quite a moot point, whether extreme indolence in a hot climate is not more prejudicial to health, especially in

the young and vigorous subject, than any amount of severe physical exertion. But no severe exertion need be demanded of the soldier. Food and requisites being supplied him, it is contended, that he should be merely called upon to do what is necessary to bring such into a fit state for consumption or expenditure.

This would not only be beneficial to the public service, but profitable to himself; for of course it is contemplated that he should be paid a fair wage for his labour. It has already been recommended in this article that he should make, and repair his own barrack-furniture; nor is there any reason why he should not bake his own bread. With the aid of machinery this latter is far from a laborious occupation. Nor do killing, and distributing meat-rations, tinning cooking utensils, pitching tents, lading baggage, etc., involve any inordinate amount of physical exertion. Again, employment for the women might readily be found in making up, with the aid of sewing machines, barrack and hospital clothing and bedding of all kinds. With proper management and after a little training and experience, the soldier might also be made equally self-reliant, and independent in the field as in cantonments; and thus the services of the army of rabble followers, which now hampers an European force in India, might be dispensed with. It may be argued that it is not only inexpedient, but a measure of more than doubtful economy, to weaken the European line of battle by withdrawing soldiers from their proper occupation of fighting. But this need not of necessity follow, for soldiers do not fight a battle, nor make forced marches every day; while the resources of a good Commissariat should always be adequate to obviate much inconvenience arising under such exigencies of service. This idea might be enlarged upon in full detail, did not respect for the patience of the general reader forbid. Suffice it to say, that it is quite feasible; and if carried out, not only would the soldier become more efficient in a fighting point of view, but healthier, wealthier, and wiser.

It will be observed that throughout this article, little comparatively has been said regarding the duties of the Commissariat on field service. The fact is, that if a good commissariat system exists in time of peace, it is sure to prove equal to the emergency of war. While in the field, much must of necessity be left to the individual intelligence, fore-thought, and resource of the Commissariat officer. Onerous as the duties of a Commissariat officer employed with troops actually engaged on service may be, the main strain of anxiety must generally rest with the Commissariat officer at the base of operations, whose duties lie in collecting and forwarding supplies of all kinds upon which the very existence of an army may depend, while the officer in advance may merely have to distribute them. This point has not been sufficiently recognised in the distribution of rewards.

ART. VII.—INDEPENDENT SECTION.*
SPELLING OF INDIAN NAMES.

1.—*Gazette of India*, 1871, 1872.

2.—*Supplement to the Glossary of Indian Terms, A—J*. By Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B. 1844.

WHEN measures are devised or adopted for effecting some particular object of importance, it is necessary not only to think of that object as expressed in general terms, but to have regard to the exact purpose to be served, and to the people for whom, for whose use or benefit, the measures in question are to be adapted.

There are different classes of persons to be considered, and there are different kinds of purposes to be served, in many arrangements of general importance, which often seem, when spoken of in the general terms used on the subject, to have but one application. And thus the matter is liable to be disposed of too readily, in a wrong way, when either the general object alone is thought of, without definite regard to the particular purposes in view, or people concerned; or when some one or more of the purposes and classes of people are kept in view, to the exclusion or neglect of others.

There has been much difference of opinion, and some controversy, regarding the proper mode of representing Indian words and names in English letters. And much of this difference and controversy arises from either a too vaguely general, or a too partial and restricted, view of the real object to be attained.

It goes against the natural and reasonable desire that people have to use the same method of representing sounds in Indian names that are most commonly used for representing the same sounds in their own language, to find the Government of India adopting a mode of spelling Indian words in English publications which is not in accordance with English usage. But still the question is, is it the right mode, for the purposes it is meant to serve, and the people for whose use it is intended?

There are, no doubt, inconveniences and difficulties in the system, in the want of uniformity it introduces, and the errors it is liable to cause. In every English book or paper in which this method is followed, two kinds of spelling are used, when one might be used throughout,—that, namely, which is in accordance with the general practice of our language. But does this, nevertheless,

* See the Editorial Note at the last page of this Review.

best effect what is required, and best suit the people chiefly concerned?

It is true it is not in accordance with what we are accustomed to in other similar cases. How, it might be asked, would people succeed in reading the oriental words in a French book or paper,—the names of people and places in their Algerian possessions, for instance,—if, instead of taking the French sounds of the letters, the names were spelt in a way which followed the usage of some other European language? What would be the meaning or advantage of this? And what the effect, except to mislead? Yet this, it will be said, is what we are asked to do now with regard to Indian names introduced in English publications. We are to use Italian and German pronunciation of vowels, instead of English.

Now we know well that the English language contains words having very various pronunciations of vowels (and of consonants too, but we are not immediately concerned with this). But is this a reason, it may further be asked, for adding to its variations? Here is what we find with regard to this very abnormal and irregular language of ours. Notwithstanding many varieties in vowel sounds, it has certain general, recognised, well understood pronunciations of vowels and double vowels, in constant use, and about which, when used to represent the sound of strange words there is no manner of doubt.

In particular, the English language possesses a special advantage for this purpose, in the double vowels *ee* and *oo*. Though there are certain exceptional pronunciations of the latter, no English reader, coming upon an Indian word in which they are used, would pronounce these double vowels in any but one way. This may be stated quite unreservedly. There is no risk whatever of mistake. Now should we deliberately reject this advantage which our English practice affords, and adopt, to represent the same sounds, letters which are apt to be mispronounced?

This liability to cause error, in the system now in question, has to be guarded, against by directions for pronunciation, and by the use of accents. Instructions, or illustrations which serve as instructions, easily reach the regular readers of Government publications in India, and they have opportunities of becoming familiar with them. But what about the generality of uninstructed readers in England, as well as in India, who have a kind of right to expect, like the readers of other languages, to find Indian names presented to them in a form which they can read correctly at once, and to be able to find names in a book of reference, or in an index, by looking for them where they would be found if spelt in English letters according to their sound?

If we adopt the other spelling, in publications we send to friends at home, and in our letters to them, are we at the same

time to send them instructions, when we might use spellings which they could read correctly without a guide?

Again, to mark the vowels to which particular sounds are to be given, different from other sounds which the same vowels may bear, recourse is had to accents. This is necessary. Without them there is ambiguity, as, for instance, in such words as *lukim* and *hukeem*, which, in the Jonesian method, are spelt alike, and can have the distinction shown only by accents. There is no ambiguity in such words when they are written, as above, in the more familiar English way which needs no accents.

Accents are not in ordinary use in writing the English language. Their application to varieties of sound is not known in English. The only use we ever make of them is to mark emphasis and rhythm. They are not generally needed, either, for distinction of sounds in the writing of Indian words, if the common use of English vowels is followed, though an accent or long mark in a few cases is useful. To look at a page of a Gazette of India Supplement, plentifully peppered with acute accents, one might think our good old letters had lost their power to serve our purposes, as they have done in by-gone days, and that, in their enfeebled condition, they were obliged to have recourse to foreign help.

The principal distinguishing un-English features of the system that has been adopted are these.

The vowel *a* unaccented, is made to represent the most ordinary English short sound of *u*. The words *Suddur Bazar*, for instance, which, in this form, few English readers would mispronounce, are written, *Sadar* (or *Sadr*) *Bazár*; the distinctions in the vowel sounds being lost without accents, and even with them not made clear.

The vowel *i*, accented, is to be sounded as *ee*. Thus *satti* is the method of writing *suttée*; a word with which, in the latter form, English people are familiar.

The letter *u* is used for *oo*, as in the word *munshi*, meant to be pronounced *moonshée*. Which of these two is likely to be most readily intelligible to English readers?

The combined vowels *au* are made to have the common sound of the English *ou* as in *house*, or *ow* as in *how*. Thus *Lakhnau* is the way in which according to the new system the more familiar *Lucknow* should be spelt.*

These are the chief points to be noticed. Now it is not to be asserted that the English language never has *i* sounded as *ee*, or *u* as *oo*. We all know it is otherwise. But here is the thing

* Shall we have our station of ready have *Kasauli*, meant for *Kus-Dalhousie* made *Dulhausi*? We all know it is otherwise.

to be observed; that in no word in the English language are the long sounds of *ee* and *oo* given to the single vowels *e* and *u* when the syllable in which these letters occur is not followed by some qualifying letter or syllable, in virtue of which that sound is given. That there is in short, (which is the point aimed at,) no analogy in the English language with the sound which is given to these letters in numerous Indian words spelt in the new manner, notably in the frequent termination, *pur*, of the names of towns. There is nothing in the customary practice of the English language to prepare an ordinary English reader to pronounce correctly the Indian words in which these vowels are thus used, as *Wazir*, *Nagpur*, &c., while the customary usage of the English language does enable any ordinary English reader to pronounce these words correctly and without hesitation, when they are written *Wuzeer*, *Nagpoor*, &c.

With regard to the use made of the unaccented *a*, in no instance in the English language, (or, it is believed, in any other,) has the letter *a* that sound of an English *u* which is given to it in words like *Nagar*, *Deoband*, *Jabalpur*, &c. Whether will English people be more likely to pronounce these names correctly when written as above or when written *Nuggur*, *Deobund*, *Jubbulpoor*?

In the English language *au* never has the sound it is made to represent in this system.

Thus every one of these distinctive representations of vowel sounds is at variance with the most ordinary usages of the language in which they are to be introduced.

It will be seen that it is here assumed throughout that a writing of any kind, in any language, should, to serve its purpose, be in a form readily apprehended by readers of that language;—an English writing, for instance, by English readers. The argument that the new spelling is meant to be intelligible also to readers of other languages is (even if it were true that it is so) a very shallow and untenable reason for its adoption in ordinary English writings. For if we wish to be intelligible to the readers of any other language, should we not write in their language, instead of limiting our presumed usefulness to the Indian words we have occasion to introduce? It would be a very small satisfaction to a foreign reader to recognise the Indian words, if he could not read the rest. And if he can read the rest, then he will best read the Indian words if they are represented in a manner corresponding to the rest of the writing, (that is, just according to the practice of his own country in similar cases,) instead of in a manner different from the rest, though kindly supposed to be better adapted to his capacity. Suppose French papers were to agree to put all proper names in the English form for the benefit of English readers, would it benefit an English reader, ignorant of French, to catch sight of the words

England, and London, and James, and William, and Peter, in a French newspaper? If he did recognise one of these names when he could not understand anything else in the paper, what would he do with it? And if he could read the French, would he be any the better of the English form of the proper names, or inconvenienced by meeting instead with Londres, and Jacques, and Pierre? So if a French reader should be enabled by our method of spelling Indian words to pronounce correctly the proper names in an English publication, he will gain little if he does not read English; and, if he does, he does not need this adaptation of the spelling of proper names to the usages of his own language. And why should we attempt this? We do not expect it of the writers of any other languages. Why should we? What language should forsake its own custom in this matter for the benefit of others? And of what others? Is the method in question such as is adapted to the usage of any one European language? No. The *au* which will do for the Germans, the *u* which will suit the Italians, will not help French readers to the right pronunciation; and the way in which we are to use *a* will not be a guide to anybody. The method does not therefore possess this advantage which is sometimes claimed for it. And, if it did, why this in preference to the natural and rational plan of each language adapting its spellings of foreign words to its own readers?

It is worth while to say a word or two more about one of the above noticed unusual applications of our vowels. The advocates of the Jonesian and Indian Government methods have never, so far as we are aware, fairly attempted to justify the use of the letter *a* to represent the well-marked sound of the English *u* in Indian names such as those before mentioned, *Nagar*, *Deoband*, *Jabalpur* (Nuggur, Deobund, Jubbulpoor), and words such as *basti* (bustee) *chakbandi* (chukbundee) &c., but take their illustrations of its use as a short vowel from those applications of it in Indian words which are similar to common uses of it in English; as in the words *pillar*, *patrol*, *assistant*, *above*, *abroad*, *villa*, *Victoria*, *trial*, *Chobham*, &c., when the accent or emphasis does not fall upon it, and it is lightly pronounced, as other vowels similarly situated might be, without any very distinctive sound.

It is not *this* use of the letter *a* that any English reader finds opposed to his experience, and liable to mislead. But the use of *a* to represent the English *u* sound, marked and emphatic, as when followed by double consonants and occupying the accented syllable of the word, or characterising a strongly pronounced monosyllable. It is *this* use of *a* that is justly objected to as inappropriate and misleading. It is illustrated in such names as *Chambal* (Chumbul), *Mangal* (Mungul), *Sakkar* (Sukkur), *Kach* (Kutch), &c., and in such words as *band-o-bast*, *hadd*, *mandi*, meant to be pronounced

bund-o-bust, hund, munde. This is a use of *a* which is unsupported, we believe, by any single example of similar usage either in our own or in other languages. It is not, therefore, suited for representing that sound so as to enable general readers to pronounce the words correctly. And, as we know, it actually has in such positions a very different sound. Looking to the English illustrations above given of the short indistinct *a*, (*pillar, abroad, &c.*) it is obvious that for the *a* in each of these words in which it is not initial or final, some other vowel might be substituted, an *e*, a *u*, or even an *o*, without very perceptible effect on the pronunciation. The same in Indian words. The vowel is not distinctive in character. It is merely *vowel*, in a general way, a scrap of vowel sound of a sort of hazy whiteness, as it might be a bit of mixture of all the vowels and none in particular. And the final and initial *a* is the same in character, only it could not well have any of the others put in its place; for none of them, when so thin, can comfortably stand up like *a*, without more support. How different is this loose undefined sound from the distinct strong, characteristic *u* of *bund, chund*, rhyming with the English *fund*; of *lub, shub*, rhyming with English *rub*, and so on. The *u* in these words would be very inadequately represented by any of the other vowels. You could not substitute one of them without perceptible difference in the pronunciation. It is no uncertain sound that the *u* gives in these words. And to say that an *a* in place of it is much the same thing as the familiar short *a*, in *aloud*, and *Peckham*, and *Persia*, is to 'make a heavy demand on the dulness of readers.

In the native languages with which we are concerned it is the same vowel mark, or say the same nominal vowel understood, that occurs in the word *suttee*, and also in the first syllable of *ameer*, and the last syllable of *sikka*. But the sounds of the first and of the other two are as distinct as are those of our *a* in the English words *far*, and *hat*, and *area*. We would never think of attempting to represent these English words in any oriental characters, using the same letter for the English *a* in each case. So neither should we use *a* invariably, as in the Jonesian method, or *u* as in the Gilchristian, to represent an Indian vowel which has different sounds. We should represent the sounds, not the letter.

The advocates of the more appropriately English fashion of rendering the sounds of Indian words do not propose the use of *u* in those places where *a* is the natural representative of the sound according to the common practice of the English language. Gilchrist's awkward use of *u* for this sound, in certain positions, particularly at the ends of words, was at variance with English usage. He used it in order to maintain uniformity in a system of transliteration. It was unadapted for giving English people a

correct guide to the pronunciation of the words in which it was so used, for its appearance was so strange that it raised doubts. Some ridiculous instances of this mis-use of the letter *u* at the end of a word, as adopted by Marshman, are given in the April No. of this Review*; to which illustrations many readers will readily add a recollection of an old Calcutta friend, *The Hurkaru*.

The late Sir Henry Elliot, in the book named at the head of this Article, used the most English mode of representing the sounds of Indian words, and did not adopt the mis-applied use of the letter *u* introduced by Gilchrist. He wrote *Bhoomia*, *Beera*, *Fouteenama*, not *Bhoomiu*, *Beeru*, &c. He uses that method of representing Indian words which, as he says in his Preface, "certainly has the merit of enabling an Englishman to pronounce a word in such a manner as to make it easily comprehended by the natives of Hindoostan." "Sir W. Jones's method," he adds, "is better suited to the learned." And his Glossary has a column giving the words also in this form. But in the leading column the words are spelt and alphabetically ranged according to the ordinary English method; which enables any Englishman to find a word he has heard by reference to the spelling by which he would himself naturally represent it. This is exactly what should be done in the *Indian Gazetteers*, written in the English language, to be consulted by English readers:—the names should be given primarily in the most directly English form, followed by the Jonesian representation for those who require to know the spelling in the Indian characters.

The method adopted by the Government of India is a method of *transliteration*. Now if, in accordance with the remarks made above, we bear in mind the purpose to be served, and the people to be considered, let us ask, is this the right method? Is it necessary, and is it suitable? By far the majority of readers, in India as well as in England, of English publications relating to India, are not concerned to know how the words are spelt in the original languages; but they are concerned to know how names are pronounced, and to be able readily to find, in a book of reference, a name which they hear spoken. Let any candid English reader say whether the method adopted by the Government, or the other, would best help him. We take up a recent *Gazette of India* publishing a Bill relating to the North-West Provinces. What is an English reader likely to make of such words as *mukarari*, *pulbandi*, &c.,—of their pronunciation, we mean? The same Bill gives us *khood khaat* or *kadeemes Ryots*, inadvertently spelt in the old way, which few would have much difficulty in pronouncing with tolerable

* Cal. Rev., No. cviii., April 1872, p. 334.

accuracy.* Did these words look too ugly for general readers in their Jonesian dress? With regard to the question of transliteration, in the representation of Indian words for general English readers, let us ask, should we ever think of representing English names in any Indian characters by this system, giving each English letter one uniform representative? We could not, of course. We must let them be represented by different letters in different cases when they are differently pronounced. A system of transliteration is useful for certain purposes and certain persons, but do not let us pretend that, to the general public, it uniformly exhibits the real sounds of the words.†

English people are now pretty familiar with a number of Indian and other oriental words and proper names, and they know them generally in the shape in which they naturally write them when they hear the words. Some have come to us in other and very varied forms, as they came through different channels, old French translations of the Arabian Nights, old books of travels, &c. But it is in familiar English forms that our principal modern acquisitions of this kind have become the property of the English people. They can talk about *loot*, and they have been told about the not extinct cruelties of *thuggee* and the *churruk pooja*; they know what a *punkah* is, and a *cooly*, and a *hookah*, and a *cowree*; they have heard of the valiant *Roostum*, they know where the *Kootub Minar* is, *Dhuleep Singh* lives among them, they have seen the *koh-i-noor*, they have read *Lalla Rookh*, &c. &c. &c. Now put these words into the new form, and let our friends in England see how pretty they look as *lul* (and being *luted*!) *thuggi*, *charak pūja*, *punkah*, *kuli*, *hūkah*, *kauri*, *Rūstam*, *Kūtub*, *Dhalip*, *koh-i-nūr*, *Lala Rukh*, &c. &c. &c., and let them be told that this is really the proper way of spelling them, which they will have to learn; and that we have been wrong hitherto in putting these words before them in the ridiculously easy and intelligible shape they have been accustomed to.

The readers of Indian history will find some well-known words, and names transformed: *musnud*, *guddee*, *doulut*, become *masnad*, *gadi*, *daulat*; the affixes *poor*, *nuggur*, *gurb*, *gurhee*, *droog*, become *pur*, *nagar*, *garh*, *garhi*, *drug*. *Tippoo* will be *Tipu*, and *Poona* *Puna*; the Peshwa's Commander-in-Chief *Hurree Punt* will appear as *Hari Pant*; the *Goorkhas* will be

* Not with entire accuracy; in this system as in the other there is still room for mispronunciation of *kh* and *ch*, but not so as to prevent the word being understood.

† We should beware of incau-

tiously charging any system with the laughable misrepresentations of Indian words we sometimes meet with. No system and no teaching will give a man an ear if he has none, or make another accurate who is careless.

Gurkhas, and the Rajpoots *Rajputs*. We see *Mooltan** beginning to appear as *Multan*, and people will soon be giving it the sound they already give to *Sultan*.* They will have to unlearn some other names of places and people up in that quarter, which they know something about from the past history of the Punjab (*Panjab* we are told is the right thing) and from the occasional reports they hear of disturbances on that frontier;—*Moolraj*, *Sooruj*, *Koond*, *Bunnoo* and the *Bunnoochees*, the *Thull*, the *Murrees* and *Boogtees*, the *Khuttuks*, the *Mahsood Wuzerees*, &c., must now become known as *Mulraj*, *Suraj Kund*, *Bunu* and the *Banuchis*, the *Thall*, the *Maris* and *Bugtis*, *Khattaks*, *Mahsúd Waziris*, and so on. When people used to read about the *Hindoos* and the *Indus*, these names were very intelligibly distinct. Now they will have the *Hindus* and the *Indus*, and it will be apparent to acute readers in England that the former is only an accidental cockneyfication of the name of the river.

People in England as well as in India who have occasion to dip into Indian official papers, are acquainted with many of our revenue technicalities and other terms, as *usl*, *rubbee*, *khuree*, *beegha*, *tehseel*, *vuheel*, *nuzool*, *kanoongo*, *chowdree*, &c., and they are never likely to mispronounce them if they find them in these forms. They are not quite so safe with *asl*, *rabi*, *kharif*, *bigha*, *tahsil*, *vakil*, *nuzul*, *kanungo*, *chaulhri*, &c.

The names of articles of Indian produce and manufacture with which a number of people in England, visitors to the International Exhibitions and others, have become acquainted, as *durree*, *kummul*, *Rampoor chuddur*, *pugree*, *puttoo*, *pushm*, *dosoottee*, *nynsookh*, &c., will not be so readily named when they are labelled *dari*, *kamal*, *Rampur chadar*, *pugri*, *patu*, *pashm*, *nainsukh*, and so on.

There are Indian words identical in sound with English words (not connected at all in meaning); and it seems a piece of needless perversity to give them different vowels from the English words when they are written in English letters. Would an ordinary English reader readily understand, or even believe that *sach*, *andar*, *ham*, *fan*, are really meant to be pronounced exactly like the English *such*, *under*, *hum*, *fun*; that *aur*, *sau*, *baund*,* *nau*, represent the sounds of the English *our*, *sow*, *bound*, *now*; that *kul*, *but*, *sut*, *pur*, are to be sounded *cool*, *boot*, *scot*, *poor*; and *pir*, *kil*, *chir*, *dip*, like *peer*, *keel*, *cheer*, *deep*? Does not an English reader naturally say, if they are meant to be pronounced so by us in England, why are they not spelt so? If you wish us not to pronounce them rightly, your method is excellent.

* In some English dictionaries the first syllable of this word is marked as accented on

Now we are told that all will become easy bye and bye, when every body has been trained to the new fashion. Perhaps. But why use a system which needs instructions when you have another which needs none? However, people are to be trained, the English people in India first, and through them our friends at home. The consideration of this subject of training to the use of the new system has given rise to a suggestion that a grand opportunity is afforded to the Government of India of reviving and establishing on a sound basis a method of spelling our own language which was unsuccessfully attempted, some years ago, in England. The people of England did not discern its merits. They will be brought to appreciate them now. The *Phonetic Nuz* lived before its time. Its time has now come, and the Indian Government will set it on its feet again, in improved form. If the method adopted for Indian words (it has been reasoned), is really the best mode of representing the sounds of the Indian words, then it would well represent also the sounds of other words. And if we would try it on familiar English words in daily use, we should all soon become accustomed to it, and able to use it easily for reading and spelling Indian words. The practical part of the suggestion, as it has come to us, is that some enterprising Kalkatta publisher should bring out a new phonetic *Kukari Book*, to be put into the hands of the English ladies in India; under whose influence and guidance we shall be soon all reconciled to the Italian flavour that is to be given to our familiar English vowels, in the new mode of serving the old dishes.

Seriously, can we English not be allowed to retain, in the English spellings of Indian names, for ordinary purposes and ordinary readers, the most ordinary usage of the English letters? Educated people have, of course, no great difficulty in apprehending the Jonesian spelling with the help of the key, and in agreeing to call *s a n* sun, and so on, according to a method arbitrarily determined and accepted for certain purposes. And they can use this method, and do use it, for those purposes, —for purposes of scientific precision, and where accuracy in showing the exact spelling of the words in the original languages is important. But no one can honestly say that the spelling really represents to him, or will represent to his countrymen generally, the sounds which it is assumed to represent. Or that for the ordinary purposes for which Indian proper names require to be written, it is important to secure scientific accuracy, and indicate the letters which form the word in the original.

There are purposes for which this is required, as there are purposes for which scientific accuracy of other kinds, and the use of scientific forms of words, are needful; and there are persons whose pursuits or whose duties require the use of those forms for

those purposes. But to maintain a scientific system of transliteration on ordinary occasions, when this precision is not required, would be something like making constant use of terms belonging to the various sciences, in ordinary publications and correspondence; calling, for instance, our trees and flowers by their botanica names, and giving to familiar substances their chemical designations. To do this when the occasion does not require it, would, to the generality of hearers, be a hindrance and not a help. The scientific terms, no doubt, are more precise and accurate; and, to scientific men, they convey that definite idea of the thing spoken of which the purposes of science require. And so with a precise scientific representation of Indian names and other words, for purposes which require this. But should we not think it something more than pedantic, needless, and inappropriate, to use unfamiliar but scientifically accurate, instead of common and generally understood, words, in daily ordinary writing, and in publications dealing with common affairs, and intended for the general public?

We are quite accustomed, in other things, to the use both of simple and familiar expressions in the ordinary business of daily life, and also, at the same time, of scientific language for the initiated, and for technical requirements. The man who writes *Febriis* in his hospital returns, and *Ol. Ricin.* and *Pulv. Rhei comp.* in his prescriptions, can say *Fever*, and *Castor Oil*, and *Rhubarb*, in writing a popular Report. He does not reckon it any great condescension to vulgar prejudices, to put the names in the most familiar and readily apprehended form. He would not think of doing any thing else. For special purposes and special persons he uses the technical forms, but in a writing intended for the public he puts things in the way best "understood of the people." If, for certain scientific purposes and scientific men, it is desirable, (as it is,) to put Indian names in a shape belonging to an arbitrary, uniform, recognised system, by which the exact spelling in the original can be correctly exhibited, then to use this method, even though it puts some words in strange shapes, little likely to be understood by the unlearned, is, for these purposes, right and proper. If we must even write names like *Cultrud-din* and *Futtygarh* in such papers, yet we know that general readers will much better comprehend *Suddur-ood-deen* and *Futteghurh*; and this latter form we should adopt in papers for general readers, though the other may be suited for the learned. The chemist gives *laudanum* to the public, and reserves his *tinct. opii* for the profession. It is, of course, a very different thing, having two ways, a scientific and a popular, of representing the same words. But the principle is the same. The scientific forms, in each case, have their technical purposes to serve; but, for the public, that

which is most readily apprehended is required, not that which is most precise and best adapted for special technical purposes. Let not familiar forms, and facilities which are due to the public,—unlearned and learned alike,—be sacrificed to scientific requirements or quasi-scientific fancies.

We find among the men who are most strong, in different departments of learning, those who most readily recognise the secondary place to be assigned, in general publications, to the demands of the learned,—the precedence to be given to the needs of the far larger public. No one will question the capacity or the the oriental scholarship of Sir Henry Elliot or Sir William Muir. It was not any difficulty, or personal trouble or inconvenience in using the more strictly accurate learned system that prompted their expressed views with regard to the most suitable general mode of representing Indian words. Others there are who see no need for a simple system for general use. They perfectly understand a system of accurate transliteration, they have become used to it in their scientific pursuits, it suits them, they like it, they are persuaded that others can learn it with a little trouble; and with truth they say that it gives a more correct rendering of the exact form of the original words. But, if there is any soundness in our opening remarks, this is not what is wanted. Others again are found willingly to follow in using one of the learned methods, not because they are themselves men of learning, having occasion to hold frequent converse with works in the native languages, for historical or scientific researches, but because the use of this less ordinary mode of spelling implies and stimulates some attention to matters out of the ordinary course, some approach to scientific tendencies. And others use it because they have been told to do so, but without seeing why, or perceiving any greater resemblance to the real sound of the words in this spelling than in the other.

The Government of India, we must now observe, does not go the length of satisfying scientific requirements. A full scientific system of transliteration, with its various marks, has this value, (which is indeed its primary purpose) that the learned, who know and understand the marks, or are furnished with the key, can identify the words in the original tongues, from the mode of exhibiting them in English letters. The Government hesitates to do this. It goes a certain length to meet science, but will not go all the way. This half-and-half system serves neither purpose fully. It does not satisfy the requirements of the scientific few or of the unscientific many;—does not give the learned what they need for learned purposes, nor supply the more simple wants of the general public. Is it not very just and reasonable to say, if you agree to recede so far from a complete scientific system, so that you have abandoned all pretension to meet the wants of those who desire

a representation of the exact form and spelling of the words in the original, would it not be wise to take the further step in the same direction, which would re-establish the claim to meet the ordinary wants of the public, in England as well as in India?

Let our Asiatic Society here, in the yellow Nos. of its Journal, write *casar*, *Qutbuddin*, *Fath Khan*, &c., which ordinary people would read more easily in the forms *Suffur*, *Kootub-ood-deen*, and *Futteh Khan*. For orientalists and for their purposes the more precise forms, though of strange appearance to the uninitiated, are of special use. They are, to them, as distinctly intelligible and definite in their indications as, to the naturalists, are such names as *Motacilla alba*, *Helix aspersa*, *Solanum tuberosum*, in the blue Nos. of the same Journal. To the vulgar herd it would be more to the purpose to say *wagtail*, and *snail*, and *potato*; but the more precise definitions have their special uses for men of science, by whom they are well understood. Neither the one kind of scientific words nor the other is suited for use in ordinary writings for the unlearned public.

In a *Gazetteer of India* let us have a second column showing the names in exact transliteration, according to an approved method; but in the leading column, in which the names will be found by their alphabetical arrangement, let the simpler forms with English vowels be used. And the same in all other ordinary publications intended for general English readers. So that any of our friends at home to whom our letters, newspapers, reports, &c. &c., are sent, any readers of average intelligence, learned or unlearned, in all broad England, who never heard of *alif*, *be*, and *pe*, and have no key or competent friend at hand, may, without need for any of these helps, read the Indian names as easily and intelligibly as they read the English text.

And now a few words with special reference to the *Indian Gazetteers*. The system of spelling above preferred for common use has this advantage, that it places together those words which have similarly sounded first syllables (by which, for the most part, words are looked for in a book of reference). And this the system of the Government of India does not do. By the use it makes of the same vowels for different sounds, it brings together words not associated by the ear, in virtue of similarity of first syllables; and it separates words which have their first sounds alike. Thus we should, in a *Gazetteer* using the new method, find *Nagpoor* and *Nuggur* together, *Chindwara* and *Cheenee*, *Malda* and *Mullikpoor*, *Palumpoor* and *Pulwul*, *Ban-gunga* and *Bunmoo*, *Seetapoor* and *Sitana*, &c. &c., because in the system in question the first three letters of each of these pairs of words will be the same, though their sound is very different. A person looking for one of these names would not naturally expect to find it among

words having the other initial sound. It is an objection applicable, of course, to dictionaries of the English language. And by the use of one of the methods of representing Indian words, we should avoid it in our Indian dictionaries and Gazetteers, and so facilitate reference to words which in themselves are strange, and in need of any help that can be given in finding them.

Let us put it in this way. A friend in England is told of some one in whom he is interested being at Sukkur, or DumDum, or Dæeg, or Noorpoor. If he desire to learn something about these places from a Gazetteer, would he naturally turn to *Sa, Da, Di, Nu*? Is he not likely to be disappointed, and to think that the names are not in the book? For, let us ask ourselves, could he have any expectation of finding the names he looks for, among words having first syllables spelt in these latter forms? We are not speaking of people familiar with India and Indian names, but of ordinarily educated English folk, using their ears and eyes on sounds and spellings in the manner they are most accustomed to. Will even a key in the preface to the book serve their turn?

Let us observe also that in a dictionary in the principal, Indian characters, the confusion above noticed would not occur. The words having first syllables of the same sound would come together and those of dissimilar sound would be apart, each in their own place. *Nuggur* would not be near *Nagpoor*, or *Sectapoor* near *Sitana*.

Is it not a just conclusion that for *Indian Gazetteers* the sensible course followed by Sir Henry Elliot in his Glossary is that which should be adopted? Let us have the scientific and accurate spelling, for the persons and purposes requiring it; and let us have it really, correctly, completely, according to an approved system. But let this be the second form of the name. They are comparatively few who need it, and few the purposes for which it is required. Let the first form of the words, the form according to which they are ranged in English alphabetical order, be adapted to the comprehension of the many. Let it be, as in the "Supplemental Glossary," the form which is in agreement with the most ordinary English pronunciation of the letters, which has, as Sir Henry Elliot says, "the merit of enabling an Englishman to pronounce a word in such a manner as to make it easily comprehended by the Natives of Hindoostan." It is the form according to which an educated Englishman, generally speaking, would naturally write the words on hearing them spoken; the form by which English speaking people, learned and unlearned, can most readily find the word they seek, on reference to the spelling which, to them, represents the sound. And in all ordinary writings and publications let us keep to this latter, the familiar and (to English people) natural form.

The matter is not unimportant. We shall create a still greater repugnance to Indian subjects, at home, and diminish yet further the scanty interest felt in them, if we make Indian names more strange, and less easily read and written.

This seems to be the kind of result at which, if our reasoning is just, we arrive. In ordinary publications for English readers, the most customary use of the English letters, in the popular manner, with uniformity of application, facilitates right pronunciation of words read, and easy representation of words heard; and this without key, or directions, or distinctive marks not in use in our language. The other method requires instructions, requires accents, gives unfamiliar sounds to familiar letters, and thus cannot be used without error or doubt by the un instructed. Is the general adoption of such a system convenient? Is it expedient? Is it wise? Is it reasonable?

ART. VIII.—INDEPENDENT SECTION.*
OUR COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION OF THE
INDIAN POPULATIONS.†

(I).—ITS STATICS

"In India all the vices operate by which sudden fortune is acquired; in England are often displayed in the very same persons the virtues which dispense hereditary wealth. Arrived in England, the destroyers of the nobility and gentry of a whole kingdom will find the best company in this nation at a board of elegance and hospitality. Here the manufacturer and husbandman will bless the just and punctual hand that in India has torn the cloth from the loom, or wrested the scanty portion of rice and salt from the peasant of Bengal, or wrung from him the very opium in which he forgot his oppressions and his oppressors. They marry into your families, they enter into your senate; they ease your estates by loans, they raise their value by demand; they cherish and protect your relations which lie heavy on your patronage, and there is scarcely a house in the kingdom that does not feel some concern and interest that make all reform of our Eastern government appear officious and disgusting, and on the whole a most discouraging attempt. In such an attempt you hurt those who are able to return kindness or to resent injury. If you succeed, you save those who cannot so much as give you thanks. All these things show the difficulty of the work we have on hand, but they show its necessity too. OUR INDIAN GOVERNMENT IS IN ITS BEST STATE A GRIEVANCE."

BURKE.

IN conducting the following examination into the export and import trade of British India, I shall determine, first, its *statics* or its condition at some given period of time; and secondly, its *dynamics* or its development through successive periods. I shall, so to speak, take first a *lateral* and then a *vertical* section of Indian Commerce.

Beginning with the statics I shall examine 1° the export, and 2° the import trade.

There is no text upon which Englishmen connected with India enlarge more frequently or more exultingly in their incessant exhortations towards fearless borrowing and spending, than that of the long array of Indian exports. "Why, India exports every year as much as fifty-seven millions sterling of produce, and in one year, 1864-65 (the zenith of the cotton trade owing to the "American war), the sale proceeds of India's export goods touched

* See the Editorial Note at the last page of this *Review*.

† Trade and Navigation Returns of British India. Published by the Fi-

nanacial Department, Calcutta, 1872.

Finance and Revenue Accounts of British India. Published by the Financial Department, Calcutta, 1872.

"the figure of seventy millions sterling." The recital of this vast sum, not less than a fourth of the export trade of Great Britain and Ireland, leaves an impression with reader or listener that India possesses a like proportion of wealth, that India is in possession of fixed capital and of current earnings which bear something like an English ratio to these stupendous outgoings.

That is not so. A large portion of these fifty-seven millions sterling of exports represents sales made under coercion and under all the commercial disadvantage involved in coercion. The goods thus forcibly transferred are the cost of foreign rule; they form the tribute of India to her alien or absentee rulers. India may or may not receive a full equivalent, but whatever conclusion one may form on that question—an entirely separate question,—it cannot undo the actual fact of the tribute. Accordingly, if any one seek to demonstrate that India is prospering under and because of foreign rule, he must make a sufficient deduction on this account from his enumeration of Indian exports, for otherwise he will be committing the fallacy of reiterating the fact of foreign Government as being itself proof of the benefit therefrom.

What then is the cost of foreign rule to India? Let us see how the London Treasury of the Indian Exchequer is filled, and how it is emptied. Let us examine the nature of the "*Home*" or London charges of that Government which rules without being domiciled in India. Let us also range several years for comparison, so as to narrow the risk of incompleteness of view to a minimum or to zero (p. 144, Finance and Revenue Accounts)—

Receipts of the "HOME" or London Treasury.

	1862-63	1863-64	1864-65	1865-66	1866-67 (11 months)	1867-68	1868-69	1869-70
I.—Home Revenues	£ 189,056	£ 424,760	£ 195,094	£ 138,367	£ 109,867	£ 104,708	£ 177,436	£ 194,477
II.—Amount received from Her Majesty's Treasury and other Public Departments.	306,938	60,232	106,881	106,565	169,575	1,253,732	5,240,382	1,517,373
III.—Supplies from India	6,767,172	9,193,416	6,934,483	7,298,583	6,620,505	4,320,349	3,722,205	7,076,760
IV.—Debt incurred	.....	2,441,000	.....	892,500	2,731,900	1,224,407	1,534,139	4,039,412
V.—Indian Railway and other Guaranteed Companies	5,293,610	6,135,805	3,935,175	4,178,935	6,780,755	9,085,468	6,359,084	4,793,798
Total	12,556,776	18,255,213	11,174,533	12,005,250	16,412,672	15,588,714	17,063,249	17,621,820

Let us examine the nature of these several items of Receipts.

The first item "*Home Receipts*" represents mere incidental deductions upon vast disbursements, mere casual and infinitesimal sets-off against payments of enormous magnitude.

The second item of Receipts headed "*Amount received from H.M's Treasury and other Public Departments*" purports to represent repayment from the English to the Indian Exchequer of certain charges, all of which had been thrown provisionally, and some of which had been fastened absolutely, on the Indian revenues. This is in accordance with a most objectionable system whereby the Indian Exchequer is compelled to conduct Afghan, Persian, Chinese, Abyssinian or other expeditions, and thus in the first instance to bear the whole cost for the time being, and in the second instance to bear a vast proportion of the cost, or it may be the entire cost for good and all. This system is not only iniquitous in principle, but it is also most objectionable in practice, inasmuch as it disperses responsibility and so far evades control. The details of the re-imbursments, so far as these have been disclosed, are set forth in the following Table which will give some idea of the extent to which the Indian is made to minister to the English Exchequer. How little vigilance is exercised on behalf of Indian tax-payers may be surmised from the laxity of that audit (if, indeed, Parliamentary proceedings over Indian budgets may be dignified with the name of auditing), which passes a charge of five or six millions sterling for the Abyssinian Expedition in the lump, and admits charges for a "late" China Expedition so many years after date.

*Details of the second item in the above Table of "HOME" Receipts. -
Amount received from Her Majesty's Treasury and other Public Departments.*

	1862-63	1863-64	1864-65	1865-66	1866-67 (11 months)	1867-68	1868-69	1869-70
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
In re-payment of advances in India on account of the emigration of coolies ...	28,607	16,225	41,673	23,727	45,937	34,852	33,683	41,326
Expenses of Madras Troops employed at Labuan ...	5,223	4,917	2,869	9,086	1,177	11,187	5,216	5,622
Out pensioners of Chelsea Hospital... ..	9,599	8,735	7,972	14,660	7,665	11,735	9,886	12,167
Supplies to Her Majesty's ships on the East India station ...	21,108	30,295	51,367	59,166	50,773	76,195	78,017	57,391
Charges of the late China Expedition... ..	242,400	.....	.....	..	64,000	119,756	.....	..
In re-payment of disbursements in England and in India, on account of the Abyssinian Expedition... ..	....	..	.....	.....	..	1,000,000	5,113,580	1,400,867
TOTAL ...	306,938	60,232	106,881	106,565	169,575	1,253,722	5,240,382	1,517,373

Returning to the first Table, I must ask a careful consideration for the very instructive process which is betokened by the *third* class of Home Receipts, namely, "*Supplies from India.*" The process is really this :—The Secretary of State first reckons, with more or less accuracy, the amount which he expects to need for his London payments during the succeeding year, and then he advertises from time to time for tenders of drafts upon India. He wishes to place so or so many millions of Indian money in London, and accordingly he invites those London merchants or bankers trading with the East who may be wishing to place London money in India to compete with each other for his drafts upon India. He fixes a certain reserved or minimum rate of so many pence in London for each rupee which he will make over in India, and he invites merchants to bid against each other by tender at or over this rate. Those whose tenders are highest and are accepted, pay the stipulated amount of gold, &c., into the Bank of England, to the credit of the Secretary of State, and they receive his drafts upon India. These drafts are then sent by post to the mercantile correspondents in Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, as the case may be, are there presented to and cashed by the Government at the Presidency Treasuries, and the proceeds are devoted to the purchase of exports from India consigned to the original London merchants or to some creditors of these London merchants.

Thus, the Secretary of State, in return for so many millions of pounds sterling needed for his London disbursements, finds English merchants in so many kros of rupees at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. How does the Secretary of State do so? He orders the Governor-General to empty Indian Treasuries to that amount, and to fill them again out of Indian taxes. These drawings of the Secretary of State form a grotesque chapter in the English Gospel of Free Trade, those glad tidings which shall be unto all peoples; but I reserve this subject for the dynamics or historical review of the compulsory export trade of India. For the present I shall only observe that the rates of exchange obtained from time to time by the Secretary of State vary according to his financial position for the time being. For he is the most important negotiator with the East, and his cash in hand or his cash in immediate prospect are the most important items in any exchange calculation of European business with the East. Further the rates vary according to the commercial vicissitudes of the particular time, for example, the existing rates of discount English and Indian; the scarcity or abundance of floating money within immediate call in England or India; the condition of general mercantile credit at the time; the past results and the present prospects of the Indian trade outward and homeward; the relative proportion

and the intrinsic character of the imports into and the exports from India under actual negotiation at the time being.

The *fourth* heading of Receipts of the Home Treasury is that deplorable item of "*debt incurred*," that register of millions after millions of money which are borrowed and spent without any definite notion whatsoever as to who is to pay the interest charge, and how long or wherewithal, and who is to re-pay the principal. It represents only a part, not the whole, of the recurring entry of our chronic deficit, and in so far it forms the periodical record of our failure, the annual condemnation of our empire in India.

The *fifth* and last item of Receipts entitled "*Indian Railways and other Guaranteed Companies*" calls for some explanation. It has been the practice with those guaranteed Companies, whose interests as Indian mortgagees are watched by the London Directorates, to raise money *as they find convenient* within their statutory powers of borrowing, and pay it into the credit of the Secretary of State at the Bank of England, whereupon they at once acquire a claim to the interest thereon. They expend the same, about two fifths in England and three-fifths in India, *at their discretion* as to progress. In all these arrangements these Directorates possess the initiative, which means the substantial control, for the nominal post-audit of the Government is practically futile. These Directorates, acting for the Railway mortgagees who are almost all resident in England, have the real control of their incomings and outgoings, but it is the people of India (who are the nominal mortgagors) that bear the real responsibility. Now, of this Railway capital thus raised and paid into the Bank of England, about two-fifths, as I said, is disbursed in England on rails, rolling-stock, coal, freight, &c., in that enormous patronage which these obscure Directorates enjoy within the privacy of their London parlours. The remainder, say three-fifths, (for the proportion of Railway capital raised in India is infinitesimal), is spent by the Secretary of State on the Home or London charges of the Indian Government. Thus, the Secretary of State spends these Railway balances in London, and orders the Governor-General to place a corresponding amount at the disposal of the Railway employes in India, and thereafter to replenish the Indian Treasuries out of debt charged to India.

The Railway accounts, unlike those drawings technically so called of whose fluctuating rates I have just spoken, are adjusted at a fixed rate of exchange, namely, 1s. 10d. per rupee or nominal 2s., that is to say, at a loss of one penny on the shilling or $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. In other words for every £100 paid by a Guaranteed Railway Company into the Secretary of State's Treasury, and spent by him in London, the Indian people are required to make

over £108-10, or more correctly Rs. 1,090-14-6 in India. Over and above this the Indian people are obliged to find the Companies in land free of charge, also in a fixed minimum rate of dividend, and in many other comfortable privileges. How far this state of things is in accordance with the professed principles of free trade, and with the moral sense of mankind as to the proper responsibility of capitalists,—I shall not now stop to enquire. The loss by exchange alone which has thus been charged to India during the last twenty years, amounts now to about £4,000,000. The aggregate loss on the guarantee of annual interest amounts now to about £17,000,000. In former days it was often put forth that the loss by exchange, amounting, as I have said, to now some £4,000,000, would ultimately be recouped by a converse gain on re-exchange when the railways would come to repay their subsidy of guaranteed interest, say £17,000,000, and when the railways would come to share with the Government their surplus profits.

Profits! Surplus profits! on Indian Railways!

Such, then, are the ways and means by which the "*Home*" Treasury of the Indian people in London is annually filled. Let us see now the nature of the charges upon which that Treasury is annually emptied. (P. 145, Finance and Revenue Accounts)

Disbursements of the "HOME" or London Treasury.

	1862-63	1863-64	1864-65	1865-66	1866-67 (11 months)	1867-68	1868-69	1869-70
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
I.—Charges on the Revenues of India except guaranteed interest ...	5,132,484	5,202,390	4,997,495	5,119,552	6,814,469	6,957,187	8,451,277	9,043,949
II.—Gross guaranteed interest on the capital of Railway and other Companies ...	2,166,170	2,457,075	2,686,869	2,897,849	3,043,678	3,494,317	3,894,383	4,138,150
III.—Payments in England included as charges in the Indian accounts ...	967,835	716,944	833,736	1,442,685	.....	.....	.....	.....
IV.—Disbursements in England in respect of sums received or recoverable in India ...	1,155,102	1,112,728	1,115,565	1,209,149	11,151,128	2,367,812	1,590,876	1,127,899
V.—Debt discharged ...	1,756,209	7,968,500	186,500	28,700	150,000	50	502,500	501,300
VI.—Indian Railway and other Guaranteed Companies ...	1,863,788	1,450,212	2,035,850	3,003,426	3,973,328	4,225,045	2,301,169	2,897,978
VII.—Special disbursements [on account of the Abyssinian Expedition] ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	109,624	100,071	46,743
Total ...	13,041,577	18,907,849	11,856,015	13,701,361	15,132,603	17,154,485	16,870,276	17,755,319

The nature and the magnitude of these several items call for serious reflection. India, it will be seen, is required to maintain an army of such a strength as to be able at any time to lend a military force in China or Abyssinia or wherever British prestige, that is to say the interests of British Commerce, may seem to be menaced. It is futile to pretend that Britain makes full payment to India for this hire of Indian troops if she pays, (when she does pay at all,) the wages and the food of the regiments for the few months when she takes over their services. A veritable refund of cost to India would include not only charges for the time being but also a heavy charge for previous cost of organisation and for subsequent cost of pension list. No doubt Mr. Gladstone was quite right when he made rejoinder to Mr. Fawcett about the Abyssinian expedition money, that *per contra* the British Exchequer received no adequate reimbursement from India for the services of the British army and navy. The fact is, the English dominion of India is a waste of power injurious to the English tax-payer as well as to the Indian. At the same time, inasmuch as the British tax-payer has the option of terminating the arrangement, while the Indian tax-payer although the poorer has no choice whatsoever in the matter, the former deserves little pity for his own folly, but the latter merits the deepest sympathy for *his* helpless plight.

The London, or as they are significantly called the "*Home*" charges of the absentee Government of India, amount at present in nett figures to no less than £13,000,000 a year. In order to understand what these and like enumerations of Indian taxation really denote, one must consider that, whatever may be their potential capacity, yet an acre of Indian soil does actually yield not more but less food and less raiment than an acre of English soil does. When one translates rupees into pounds, one must also make a consideration for the poverty of India similar to that which was indicated in the following words by that great Englishman of our time to whom alone of our living countrymen posterity will award the name of statesman. "I would ask the House," said John Bright in 1853, "to imagine that all steam-engines and all applications of mechanical power were banished from this country (Great Britain); that we were utterly dependent upon mere manual labour. What would you think if the Chancellor of the Exchequer, under such circumstances endeavoured to levy the same taxation which is now borne by the country? From one end of India to the other, with very trifling exceptions, there is no such thing as a steam-engine; but this poor population without a steam-engine, without anything like first-rate tools, are called upon to bear, I will venture to say, the very heaviest taxation under which any people ever suffered

"with the same means of paying it. Yet the whole of this money, raised from so poor a population, which would in India buy four times as much labour, and four times as much of the productions of the country as it would obtain in England, is not enough to keep the establishments of the Government; for, during the last sixteen years the Indian Government has borrowed £16,000,000 to pay the dividends to the proprietors in England." When Mr. Bright uttered these words of rebuke, the taxation of British India was only £28,000,000. That taxation has since "*risen*," which being interpreted means that taxation has since been painfully screwed up to £49,000,000, and still it is not enough.

But this consideration of the difference of effectual monetary power of the rupee in India and the florin in England makes the problem still more difficult to solve. This other and all but irresoluble function makes the quantity still more difficult to grasp. In order to give some idea of what £13,000,000 *a year* of "Home" charges really means to the Indian people, I must have recourse again to that same solitary English statesman of our day. He was speaking, as his earnestness will of itself show, to an audience more worthy than the loungers of the House of Commons.

"I believe that I understate the sum when I say that, in the pursuit of this will-o'-the-wisp (the liberties of Europe and the balance of power), there has been extracted from the industry of the people of this small island [in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries] no less an amount than £2,000,000,000 sterling. I cannot imagine how much £2,000,000,000 is, and therefore I shall not attempt to make you comprehend it. I presume it is something like those vast and incomprehensible astronomical distances with which we have lately been made familiar; but however familiar, we feel that we do not know one bit more about them than we did before. When I try to think of that sum of £2,000,000,000, there is a sort of vision passes before my mind's eye. I see your peasant labourer delve and plough, sow and reap, sweat beneath the summer's sun, or grow prematurely old before the winter's blast. I see your noble mechanic, with his manly countenance and his matchless skill, toiling at his bench or his forge. I see one of the workers in our factories in the North, a woman, a girl it may be, gentle and good, as many of them are, as your sisters are. I see her intent upon the spindle, whose revolutions are so rapid, that the eye fails altogether to detect them, or watching the alternating flight of the unceasing shuttle. I turn again to another portion of your population, which, 'plunged in mines, forgets a sun was made,' and I see the man who brings up from

"the secret chambers of the earth the elements of, the riches and greatness of his country. When I see all this, I have before me a mass of produce and wealth which I am no more able to comprehend than I am that £2,000,000,000 of which I have spoken; but I behold in its full proportion the hideous error of your Governments, whose fatal policy consumes in some cases a half, never less than a third, of all the results of that industry which God intended should fertilise and bless every home in England, but the fruits of which are squandered in every part of the surface of the globe, without producing the smallest good to the people of England."

Those military expeditions in Europe, for which the English people have been thus burdened with annual taxes and loaded with perpetual debt, corresponded many of them in the profligacy of their origin and the wastefulness of their management to those expeditions and annexations in India, Afghanistan, Persia, China, and Abyssinia which have resulted in a debt of £100,000,000, charged for the present to the populations of India. The former device of resorting to warfare in Europe for out-door relief to the British aristocracy, and the later device of resorting to warfare in Asia for rates-in-aid to the British plutocracy, both belong to that same system of government or conspiracy in the interests of a caste of birth and a hierarchy of wealth which has been worthily and frequently rebuked by our living tribune of the people. "The age of chivalry has gone, and the age of sophists, economists, and calculators has succeeded," but there has been one public man among us worthy of the country of Cromwell, one from whom no metaphysics about wages-fund, supply and demand, nor all the other quackery of a pretended science could shroud the hearts of living men that labour and are heavy laden. If the language which Mr. Bright has adopted for England could be suitably translated into its Indian equivalent, we should be enabled to form some adequate conception of what £13,000,000 a year of Indian taxes expended in London really denotes to the Indian populations. But it would need a master-mind like this own to transpose the key of his regret over poverty in England to the deeper tones of a lamentation over misery in India.

The young men of our time, who have hardly known of John Bright except as the Right Honourable member of a Cabinet, will find it difficult to form any adequate conception of the envious rage with which he was assailed, day after day, and year after year, at the instance of an effete patriciate and a demoralised plutocracy. For was he not the impious Sudra wretch, the *novus homo* who, having no ancestry to speak of and no university degree at all, had, nevertheless, presumed to reat statecraft as if it were not, indeed, a mysterious lore reserved

for Brahmaus and for other twice-born castes? If the young men of our time would know, as in view of the impending times of our national trouble they certainly ought to know, what is the kind of treatment that a statesman must be prepared to face at the hands of a press shameless because anonymous, then let them look back among other things at those weekly summaries of the views of good society exhibited in the cartoons and lampoons upon John Bright and Abraham Lincoln that shock the casual explorer of old volumes of *Punch*. But there is no need to go so far. Have we not all heard it with our ears last year when a few carpenters and masons gave Paris such a government as Paris had never enjoyed before? * How convulsed was all good society, fashionable, castellated and coroneted society, throughout Europe, when those Parisian artisans presumed even to penetrate the very mysteries, the *inania arcana* of finance itself, and administered with an economy and a success to which Mr. Gladstone or Sir Richard Temple can never dare to aspire! And yet the highest official pay under that Commune of imperishable renown was only Rs. 200 a month, £240 a year. In our own coming season of English tribulation with its reckoning of £200,000,000 of discredited Indian Securities, when the helm of the State shall have fallen from the incompetent hands of rhetorical drivellers, may the ranks of the English people yield a ruler with the fearlessness of Delescluze, and a financier with the rectitude of Jourde, heroic statesmen with a single eye to duty, who in the hour of our sore need will care as little for calumny as did Abraham Lincoln and John Bright.

Putting aside the verbose metaphysics of political economy about exchanges, we come upon this solid fact. What actually defrays these annual "Home" charges of £13,000,000 is that portion of each season's industry in India which has to be deported to England or to some customer of England, in order to procure an acquittance of this annual demand upon India made by the Queen of England. A compulsory forestalment of £13,000,000 a year in an export business of £57,000,000 is surely a peculiarity which deserves careful attention. Further,

* It will be long before Parliamentary Government, at either Westminster or Versailles yield any reform so worthy as the razure of the Colonne Vendôme. That solemn act of national purification, in fulfilment of the prophetic command of Conus, has had no parallel in the world's history since the time when King Josiah, making good those words of the Elijahs that had been

the laughing stock of Ahab and Jezebel, but at the same time shocking all the well-bred and dilettante society of the day throughout the fashionable quarter of Jerusalem, tore down the artistic altar to Chemosh the abomination of Moab, and the neighbouring altar to Ashtoreth the abomination of Sidon, "lust hard by hate."

let it be considered that Indian producers have now-a-days no other staples of industry, no other means of discharging their annual payments than agricultural, raw, unmanufactured, bulky produce. Let it be considered also that the assessment of Home Charges is fixed by the Secretary of State, and that the place of discharge is London; and consequently that Indian tax-payers have to limit their choice of staples to such produce of their soil, as will, after a long voyage, be acceptable in England or in some foreign country indebted to England.

Here my reader will have anticipated me in bethinking himself of other compulsory exports from India besides those which represent the Secretary of State's annual and increasing lien. The English officials, like the English Government of India, have their home out of India, and they, also have their private "Home Charges." A large portion of official pay drawn in India out of Indian taxes is necessarily remitted and spent out of India, and this practically constitutes a further drain upon whatever produce is harvested every year in India. These English consumers may or they may not render a full equivalent to the Indian producers. That is a separate question,* and no answer to that can affect the actual fact of the consumption itself.

Is there any possibility of estimating the amount of this further drain on Indian industry? There are figured estimates which purport to assess both directly and indirectly the whole of that drain on her resources which India has to suffer, because she is governed by aliens and absentees. Were it not for such estimates, there are many people who would never appreciate the difficulties of the Indian situation, nor obtain definiteness to ideas and misgivings otherwise misty. Apart from this service which these estimates confer, they have little to commend them for intrinsic accuracy.

The standard of measure, as I shall by and by show, is utterly inadequate. Yet it does help to indicate that there is a difficulty at all to be solved, and therefore I proceed to quote one or two of the more carefully considered estimates.

First of all I take an estimate framed in 1868 by Mr. Robert Knight, Editor of the *Indian Economist*, an estimate which was published in Vol. II. of the East India Association's Journal, "*England's Financial Relations with India*," page 254.

"Lastly, India, from the double misfortunes of being at once a poor country, and a country governed by strangers whose

* In Dr. Congreve's "India," 1857, and also a brief exposition of the general nature of the reform which ought to be instituted by Great Britain towards India. (Trübner & Co.) will be found a demonstration of the fact that English consumers do not render an adequate equivalent to Indian producers,

1. Home Charges of the Secretary of State ...	£ 7,000,000
2. Interest on Railway Stock ...	4,000,000
3. Private Remittances of English employes, say, 2,500 civilians covenanted and uncovenanted, 5,000 military officers, 60,000 private soldiers in receipt of about £9,000,000, pay. Also some minor items ...	5,000,000

Total annual drain upon India ... £16,000,000

The paper setting forth this estimate was read and discussed in two meetings of which Sir Charles Trevelyan, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service, afterwards Secretary of the British Treasury, Governor of Madras and Finance Minister of India, was Chairman. The paper seems to have elicited some murmuring at the meetings, and a good deal of hostile criticism in the Anglo-Indian press. But the general principle of the figures, so far as they went, was not successfully impugned. It was suggested, indeed, that these views as coming from a native of India savoured of sedition and might be dangerous, the very same silly argument which we have all heard so often advocated for silence about absenteeism and about crushed out manufactures in Ireland, as if, forsooth, it were the discussions about hardships and not the hardships themselves that lead to political outrages.

The grand conclusion to which Mr. Knight and Mr. Naoroji led up their reasoning was this : that the Government ought to borrow more of London money for Indian public works, so as to enable India to recruit from a drain which otherwise must ultimately exhaust her. In other words what they urged is to pile further mortgage upon that existing debt which already burdens India so heavily. Mr. Knight and Mr. Naoroji alluded to the spectre of Indian famine; but those loans, which they were unwise enough to solicit in greater profusion, would certainly aggravate and not relieve the starvelings of India, for their ultimate and sole nett result would be to divert further field produce from consumption in India to consumption in England, in order to defray the new interest charges coming due in London. There is not one of our public-works in India but costs more than it yields.

These, then, are instances of the direct method of estimating by a monetary standard, the actual cost in which English rule stands India. I proceed to describe another, an indirect, attempt to measure the annual drain upon India. The method in this case is to set all the aggregates of exports or sales from India for a long period of years against all the aggregates of imports into or purchases by India of the same period of time, and to deduce from these the approximate amount of the business which,

it is supposed, would not have occurred, but for the English rule of India.

Now, this process is certainly less faulty than those other processes which we have just been examining. For spread as it is over a longer period of time, it approaches more nearly to the only scientific process in such cases, that of sociology, or the method of enquiring according to the entirety as opposed to the process of political economy or the method of enquiry by the severalty.*

The attempt to estimate the cost of English rule by this process of analysing the Custom House statistics of British India, although it also is defective, as I shall presently show, is yet suggestive even in its defects; and, in any case, it is instructive to those who have been accustomed to rely on political economy as a competent solution of such problems.

The process is as follows:—

When a series of Indian Customs' Returns is subjected to examination, it is discovered that there is ordinarily a large excess of exports over imports; or in other words, that India, unlike any other country, apparently sells more than she buys. In any other country the figures of imports exceed the figures of exports, and the difference may be taken to indicate, though not really to measure, the profit which that country secures upon its share of the world's business. Whence then the peculiar shortcoming in the case of India? The answer, a stereotyped answer, is as follows:—

"Such a hiatus is natural in a commerce between a primitive people and an advanced people. India is not only a country inhabited by people of primitive, simple habits, with comparatively few wants, but it is also destitute of silver-mines, and therefore, may reasonably be expected to require and to obtain bullion instead of manufactured goods in return for so much of its own exports as are not balanced by its imports of foreign wares. Now, this, in actual fact, is the precise condition of Indian commerce."

* The distinction will be appreciated by every one who has any acquaintance with the elementary principles of sound biology. The biologist who has learnt from Richat or Broussais the futility of such metaphysical entities as the vital principle and so forth (our professional dissertations about cholera and catarrhs in India are full of them), will readily understand how illusory are the similar metaphysics of political economy about prices, rent supply and demand, &c. As for those men

who have acquired no knowledge of the biological laws of the individual organism, they are no more competent to expound the sociological laws of the social organism, than would be that pretender who should attempt to expound astronomy without ever having learnt mathematics, and who should resort, like the Ptolemaic enquirers, to such metaphysical deductions as that of "the planets moving necessarily in a circle, because, forsooth, of a certain innate perfection in the circular figure."

Accordingly, it is often asserted deliberately, even by responsible officials, that the excess of merchandise exported from India over the merchandise imported into India is liquidated in silver. That is not really the case. Between the spring of 1834, at the termination of the Company's China monopoly, and the spring of 1871, the registered exports from India *inclusive of bullion* have amounted to 1057 millions sterling. (Commercial Statistics, page 191.) During the same period the registered imports into India *also inclusive of bullion* have amounted to 901 millions sterling. Thus even the official returns admit that India's business with the rest of the world, the most part of which has been transacted immediately with England, and all of which has been powerfully impelled by influence from England, has resulted in India's incomings falling short of her outgoings by 156 millions sterling. In other words, India trading with the world, and chiefly with England has for the last 36 years been making over by sales more than she has been able to recover by purchases to the amount of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling a year. If this really represents a process of *voluntary* exchange as between India and England, in accordance with the description of our economists and officials, it may well remind us of another episode of commerce as between Asiatic and European, and like that also it calls for a good deal of theological interposition by way of explanation, and I therefore recommend the subject in both aspects, that of theology and that of political economy, to Mr. Gladstone's congenial mind.

Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσαντε, καθ' ἵππων αἰξάντε
 χιτῶνας τ' ἀλλήλων λαβύτην καὶ πιστώσαντο.
 Ἐνθ' αὖτε Γλαύκῳ Κρονίδῃς φρένας ἐξέλκτο Ζεὺς
 ὅς προτι Τυδείδην Διομήδεα τεύχε' ἄμειβεν
 χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἐκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων.

But putting aside all theology and in particular Mr. Gladstone's special postulate of England's divinely constituted trusteeship over India, ordinary men of plain understanding will remark that the annual exports from India show only what India has made over absolutely, whereas much of the imports represents debt forcibly imposed upon, not earnings freely acquired, by India. Nor is this all. Those who have attempted to gauge the drain on Indian resource by balancing the exports against the imports insist on adding as a surcharge to the exports the nett amount of enfaced rupee paper which, at the close of the period under review, has been outstanding on the London register of Indian debt. On the 31st March 1869,* this amount was £16,000,000. According, then, to such

* I am not aware of the figures on 31st March 1871.

estimates this outstanding amount, being debt, must have previously appeared in one shape or another among imports into the Indian harbours, but on their way out of India they must have escaped registration by the Customs Department, inasmuch as they were then only book debts or paper securities transferred inside of envelopes through the Post Office. The economists who compile these tables assure us that the accounts of exported outgoings and imported incomings, after being thus purged by adjustments of this sort, will show approximately a residuum of exchanges truly spontaneous and no longer compulsory, a residuum, therefore, available for treatment according to the assumptions of what they are pleased to call their science.

Estimates of this kind have, as I said, a certain degree of utility, but they are necessarily defective. The phenomena of English intercourse with India are moral as well as material; and whether moral or material they are too inextricably interwoven to be measurable by any enumeration of bales and hogsheads. Publicists who confine themselves to such incommensurate methods of treating social phenomena commit the same error as Mr. Bruce the explorer of the Nile would have committed, if he had tried to explain the phenomena of cow bleeding by balancing so many ounces and grains of fibrine, serum, &c., withdrawn against so many pounds of grass and water taken in by the cow. Writers like Mr. Knight, or Dr. Hunter, who follow up mere monetary arguments according to political economy about our Indian affairs, and who seek to remedy famine in India by more borrowing from London, commit the same error as Mr. Bruce would have done if he had also urged on the Abyssinians that there was nothing like a sharp lancet to staunch a bleeding.

For my own part I reject a mere monetary canon as being utterly incommensurate with the Indian question. Even if I accepted this as sufficient, I could not but remark on the extreme and hopeless complexity of a figured calculation with far-reaching deductions on this side and intricate surcharges on that. Moreover, when the economist has exhausted all his devices over both the sides of the equation, he never succeeds after all in resolving that unknown quantity which he seeks to attain. For the data which he needs, and which he therefore naively assumes, namely, the insularity of individual existence on the one hand, and on the other hand the freedom of exertion on the part of the millions of natives concerned, are actually negatived in the very statement of his case. The hypotheses which he foigns, do not in reality cover the actual facts whether inclusively or exclusively, and his conclusions are therefore as visionary as his premises. These attempts to strike balances between England and India with figures gross here and sums nett there, dealing now with

mortgage capital imported and now with mortgage interest exported, are surely at variance with the sound logic of practical exigencies as set forth in the universal experience of ordinary life. Would a banker ever depart in this way from the method of the entirety and plunge into the method of severalty? Would he consent to recast the figures of transactions already finished? Would he consent to blot out gross entries here and substitute nett entries there? Would he recast a ledger and a journal long ago closed so as to make it accord with some retrospective hypothesis? Yes: there have been banks for which such operations have been necessary. But these banks were in liquidation, and their directors were on their trial.

By these several tentative estimates I have indicated the general nature, but I have not and could not have furnished an exact numerical measure, of the influence of English rule upon Indian commerce. I come now to examine the actual nature of the several staples of export from India. I take the latest year for which statistics are available, namely, 1870-71 (page 203, Trade and Navigation Blue Book):—

Article.	Value.
	£
Coffee	809,701
Cotton, raw	19,460,899
Cotton goods, including twist and yarn	1,410,013
Indigo	3,192,503
Grain, Rice	4,146,638
„ Wheat, &c.	322,356
Hides and Skins	2,020,857
Jute, raw	2,577,552
Opium	10,783,863
Seeds	3,522,305
Silk, raw	1,351,346
Sugar and Sugarcandy	295,076
Wool, raw	670,647
Other articles of merchandise	4,768,069
TOTAL MERCHANDISE	55,331,825
TREASURE	2,220,765
<i>Total Exports</i>	<i>57,552,590</i>

Now, upon glancing even cursorily over these details of the boasted 57½ millions sterling of exports, one cannot help noticing that opium alone figures for 10½ millions, nearly a fifth of the whole exports of the empire. This certainly represents a vast revenue for the alien governors of India. But it forms no proof

of welfare nor disproof of hardship secured by the governors for the governed of India, when the welfare or the hardship of the governed is the very question in issue. I heard Mr. Grant Duff in a recent budget-speech emphatically praise this opium revenue as a splendid estate for India, and I felt the degradation of my fellow-countrymen to be complete when I heard this high official (from whom, unlike to Sir Charles Wood, 'Heaven had not withheld the gift of articulate utterance') finally exult over the magnitude of British concerns in Asia as a consolation for British inaction during a supreme crisis of oppression in Europe. Magnitude of Indian concerns! Magnitude also of Indian deficits!

Here are some of the drawbacks to India's "splendid estate" in opium:

First, the two millions sterling that are devoted every year to opium in Behar are not private means adventured at private risk. They are partly the proceeds of the salt poll-tax, paid possibly by wretches whose deaths by starvation in the following year will be attributed, forsooth, to a casualty in the harvest; they are partly the proceeds of the enormous justice-taxes of stamps; partly the proceeds of other taxes; and all of them are wrung from scanty earnings. It is with these sums that an omnipotent Chancellor backed by 200,000 bayonets enters into competition with the petty chandlers and hucksters of the village booths in Behar in their struggles to earn a livelihood by their advances for the cultivation of other staples of agriculture than the poppy. Let the condition of Behar cultivators be imagined from the miserable fact that advances have to be made at all on such a scale at every seed time. This is not the only curious feature of the glorious gospel of English Free Trade for India as administered at the opium agencies of Behar and Benares. The opium agents of Government exercise a summary jurisdiction, and are not subordinate to the Civil Courts in their adjustments with the heavily indebted cultivators. Burke's description of the procedure over the poppy holds good to this day. "The inability of the cultivators to keep accounts places them at the discretion of the agents of the supreme power to make their balances what the agents please, and these agents can recover the balances not by legal process but by seizure of the cultivators' goods and imprisonment of their persons. One and the same dealer makes the advance, values the return, states the account, passes the judgment, and executes the process." True, the summary jurisdiction is said to be seldom enforced, but the power is carefully provided by statute. The attitude of Government to the cultivators of the poppy is liberality tempered by a discretionary prerogative of distress. The system may be unavoidable or it may be admirable, but at

least it should not be tinselled over with the mockery of Free Trade phraseology.

A *second* drawback to this "splendid estate of opium" consists in the application of taxes to displace food grain from the most fertile spots of the fertile territory of Behar and Malwa. These are provinces which have suffered most severely from dearth and famine in recent years. In the Parliamentary Blue-Book on the Moral and Material Progress (!) of India during the year 1868-69, prominent mention is made of the aggravation to the terrible famine of Rajputana caused by the extent of poppy cultivation in Malwa. I may as well anticipate any sophistical evasions on this subject by pointing out that the people of the feudatory territories, thus in fact brought under official review, are our subjects. We are responsible for them. We should certainly not hesitate to enforce obedience from them. We take care to secure the lion's share of the opium profits by our political and fiscal system of passes and pass duties on opium in Central and Western India.

A *third* mischief of the "splendid estate in opium" is the chronic disorder to which the finances of India are subjected through the spasmodic fluctuations of that branch of the revenue. The proceeds of a good year are spent to the full without any reserve being put aside; for the system of so called cash balances of revenue, consisting as they do, mainly of borrowed money, does not deserve the name of a reserve. The consequence is that in a bad year the exchequer is left to shift for ways and means as best it can, with a scale of expenditure and establishments already aggrandised by the profuse habits of previous plethora. The neglect to provide a reserve extends not only to each financial year by itself, but to the entire series of years. The opium revenue is doomed. It will succumb either to a gust of popular feeling among the cultivators as to remuneration for the poppy; or, more probably, it will crumble away before a pressure of popular feeling and of Government policy in China. No campaign in behalf of British commerce in China will then be able to retrieve the opium revenue of the English Government of India. No farther war of compulsory debauchery will add another to the oriental disgraces of the English Government. Never again will a Napoleon intrigue for the Jesuit vote at the rural *plébiscite*, nor reach out the hand of a corrupt dynasty in France to that of a corrupt plutocracy in England for a joint propaganda of Christianity and opium in China. The policy of "*commerce united with and made to flourish by war*" may continue to be blazoned on the Guildhall of London town, but it has been irrevocably condemned by the proletariates of France and England. It would be as much as crown, lords, and commons are worth to wage another opium campaign in China.

Of the moral damage inflicted by our opium policy, I shall not now speak. The subject is too momentous to be treated of as an episode in the enumeration of exports and imports.

As regards the other staples, besides opium, of the Indian export trade, I defer the examination of these until I come to the Dynamics. Meanwhile there are a few general considerations about Indian exports which deserve to be noticed under the present subject of the Statics of Indian Commerce.

The enumeration of two score and seventeen millions sterling of Indian exports,—a quarter of the exports of the United Kingdom, as recited in an Indian budget-speech—seems to suggest, and is meant to suggest, a sense of ample security for loans. For it is implied that India possesses a proportionate amount of invested capital, corresponding to that wonderful accumulation of the labour of past and present generations which England enjoys in the railways, the roads, the bridges, the pavements, the drains, the water-works, the lighthouses, the quays, in fact the entire social plant of England. But it is a fatal error to infer, as many do from the table of Indian exports as collated with the table of English exports, that the accumulated resource or the earning capacity of India corresponds in any such ratio to the accumulated resource or the earning capacity of England. Consider for a moment how vast an amount of private personal income is comprised in English rent alone. But the fund which in India would more or less correspond to English rent has had to surrender to our exchequer at different times 90 per cent., 75 per cent., 66 per cent., 50 per cent. of the rent. Nor is it the actual rent that is thus subjected to assessment for Indian land revenue. The fiscal department determines, without appeal, what they choose to consider the potential rent, and this potential—not actual—rent is what is constituted the basis of the assessment.

Indian officials often ply a similar sleight-of-hand about the Indian debt as compared with other debts, similar to that which they ply about Indian exports and imports as compared with other exports and imports. They describe the Indian debt as only twice the annual income, or, including the railway liabilities four times the annual income; and they contrast this with the English debt as being eight times the annual income. This sophistry is as silly as it is profligate. The ratios are utterly incommensurate. For India has no such taxable residuum as that which England possesses in the rental of the landlords and the profits of the capitalists. As regards the debt itself, the difference in burden of interest charge between a debt held within and a debt held outside of the country is a feature of the comparison which ought not to be left out of view. Again, it has

never been heard that tax-payers in England, like tax-payers in India, are so poor as to starve to death sometimes by the million.

If an export trade of 57 millions sterling, including nearly 11 millions of the Government monopoly of opium, seem such a mighty thing, as an index of monetary power in the world's market over the world's produce, then let it be considered how much of this is forestalled by pre-existing annual liabilities. The army alone with its subsidiary services costs some 20 millions sterling, and absorbs the whole of the land revenue yielded within the empire. Nor does this prodigious amount exhibit the whole actual cost of our Indian army. For in addition to the stupendous ransoms shown in the military budget, there is a farther taxation, most heavy and harassing, imposed on the peasantry who have the misfortune to dwell along the line of march from cantonment to cantonment. When a regiment moves on the most ordinary and regular relief (and the reliefs now-a-days with so many English troops going backwards and forwards are numerous and costly), the husbandmen on the line of march are requisitioned for carts, cattle, fodder and provisions as if for an enemy traversing a hostile country. Everyone knows the shifts to which ryots resort when a regiment is on the move, how they dismantle their carts, hide the axles, bury the wheels in water, and hurry off with their bullocks to the jungle. Such is English free trade in India, and such is the hold that we have on the hearts of the people! And even the enormous budget of 20 millions sterling represents the cost of the army only on a peace footing. For on the slightest disturbance, and throughout all the period of actual warfare, this military budget, gigantic as it is already, mounts at a rate unknown in any other country's costly experience of the costliness of war.

So much for the export trade of India. I shall return to it when I come to the dynamics of my subject. Meanwhile I proceed to the import trade of India in its statical view. Here is a classified schedule of all the imports, merchandise as well as treasure, for 1870-71, the latest year for which returns are available (pp. 195, 191, Trade and Navigation Returns) :—

Imports, 1870-71.

CLASS.	GOODS.	VALUE.	TOTAL.
		£	£
Cotton	{ Cotton Twist and Yarn ...	3,400,002	19,014,869
	{ Cotton Piece Goods ...	15,644,867	
	{ Machinery of all kinds ...	447,570	4,627,229
	{ Railway materials & stones ...	1,466,068	
Metal	{ Metals manufactured, except railway materials ...	850,319	
	{ Metals, raw except ditto ...	1,863,272	
Liquor	{ Malt Liquors ...	346,389	1,185,818
	{ Spirits ...	405,381	
	{ Wines and liqueurs ...	434,048	
Silk and Wool	{ Silk, Raw ...	895,563	1,903,429
	{ Silk Goods ...	425,527	
	{ Woollen Goods ...	582,339	
Salt and Sugar	{ Salt ...	715,892	1,271,693
	{ Sugar, Sugarcandy & Loaf ...	555,801	
Other articles of Merchandise	{ ... ..	.....	5,380,868
Total Merchandise...	... ..	.....	33,413,906
Treasure imported...	... ..	.....	5,444,823
	Grand Total of all Imports ...	.....	38,858,729

During the year 1870-71 the importation of silver was on a scale much lower than had prevailed during the previous 15 years when State mortgage and Railway mortgage were being piled on the country. The consequence was that in 1870-71, India presented the anomalous spectacle of a country having to sell 19 millions sterling of goods more than she was able to buy, whereas other countries expect to find their imports exceeding their exports in value, the difference representing to some extent the country's profit on the international business. I shall have occasion to recur to the depressed condition of Indian business in 1870-71 when I come to treat of the dynamics of the bullion trade.* The imports returned as merchandise were on the usual scale in 1870-71, with the exception

* Meanwhile I may extract from the figures of the treasure importation the official Trade Return (page 191) for the last 20 years :—

of liquor which in each of the two previous years had been imported to the amount of more than a million and a half sterling.

When finance ministers point to this great array of figures as demonstrating the prosperity of the people of India, I must demur. When I consider the multitudes of people among whom these 38 millions sterling of imports have to be distributed, I think each native or each native family succeeds in buying but a very little indeed. Again, I cannot but recollect that much of the 38 millions sterling does not represent purchases of the natives at all. I cannot but think of those grim figures of new and enormous mortgage over which a glib rhetorician "to whom Heaven has conceded the gift of articulate utterance" slurs with the easy elegance of an apostle of *geist*, as thus :—

	NEW DEBT ON ACCOUNT OF DEFICITS, ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY.	NEW MORTGAGE BY CREATION OF FRESH RAILWAY STOCK.	TOTAL.
	£	£	£
1866-67 ...	2,517,489	9,862,190	12,379,679
1867-68 ...	1,610,157	7,088,027	8,698,184
1868-69 ...	4,144,644	3,287,155	7,431,799
1869-70 ...	2,480,945	6,225,971	8,706,916

To these stupendous amounts India has been made to import debt, and much of these burdensome goods never reach India at all, except as a book debt entry with order to pay the interest in each of the succeeding years. Those transactions which are settled in this way may accrue and be adjusted far out of the bounds of India, and yet they are paraded as a proof of the natives' prosperity. Concerning that portion of the imports of debt which do reach India at all, and obtain entry in the Customs returns, it is unnecessary and it would be difficult to trace, except merely in a general way, which is the new State mortgage, or which is the new Railway stock that has swollen the imports of each particular year.

Annual average	1849-50 to 1853-54	...	...	4,722,802
"	" 1854-55 " 1858-59	...	...	11,375,150
"	" 1859-60 " 1863-64	...	...	17,091,516
"	" 1864-65 " 1868-69	...	...	17,817,777
Actual in	1869-70	...	...	3,984,007
"	1870-71	...	...	5,444,822

Thus, we find that much of these wonderful and boasted figures of Indian imports represent (a) mortgages imposed from abroad by foreign compulsion, (b) dead-weight of new debt which is irrevocably destined to entail immediate and absolute annual loss, (c) dead-weight of new stock on account of works euphemistically called reproductive which are not less certain to terminate in a similar drain upon Indian resource. These transactions do not represent annual purchases acquired by the natives of their own free choice out of discretionary earnings. The public works are called reproductive, and they are doubtless very profitable and very nice for the cotton and iron capitalists of the Mersey, the Tyne and the Clyde, all possessed of powerful Parliamentary interest, but they certainly impoverish the people of the Ganges, the Godavery, and the Nerbudda. Is it upon such factitious expansion of customs' figures of imports that India and England are to be congratulated on their mutual commerce? These deft optimists would have pronounced hosannas over the development of Anglo-Abyssinian commerce and wealth at Amnsley Bay during the recent expedition to the Red Sea, or over the increase of Anglo-Cinean business shown at Balaklava during the war in the Euxine. When Aden and Gibraltar come to be given up, as they certainly* will be when England comes to be better governed than now, then a set of similar sophists will be found to deprecate the surrender on the usual argument that a healthy and increasing trade, (to wit, at Gibraltar smuggling

* Afin d'éviter la révolution démocratique par l'évolution sociocratique, le patriciat britannique doit avant régénérer sa politique au dehors qu'au dedans. Il faut d'abord éteindre les derniers symptômes d'une disposition oppressive envers les autres éléments d'occidentalité, surtout en faisant cesser l'injurieuse anomalie que soumet a l'Angleterre une ville d'Andalousie.

* * *

Alors ils [les hommes d'Etat britanniques] pourront pleinement développer, a leur éternel honneur, comme a l'immense profit de leur peuple, et même du monde entier, les principaux avantages de leur situation exceptionnelle, que neutralise jusqu'à l'empirisme stationnaire. Mais si leur conversion tarde trop, ils se trouvent dévancés par l'élite du prolétariat britannique, que des étu-

des spontanées, bientôt systematisées par le positivisme, disposent a faire irrésistiblement surgir les dignes successeurs de Cromwell. Quoique la révolution démocratique ait averti faute d'une doctrine et d'une situation convenables, elle a laissé, chez les meilleures âmes britanniques, des germes imperissables, déjà voisins d'une pleine maturité. Ni la compression intérieure, ni la diversion extérieure, ne peuvent plus entraver des tendances qui, fondées sur l'ensemble du passé, prévaudraient finalement quand même l'évolution anglaise s'accomplirait isolément. Elles doivent bientôt devenir irresistible lorsque l'avènement du prolétariat central [français] a la dictature systematique fera par tout un digne appel aux sympathies populaires. (*Politique Positive*, iv, 493.)

across the Spanish customs lines), is being transacted at the historic rocks of southern Spain and southern Arabia.

Again, when these sanguine gentlemen demand men's admiration over the 38 millions of Indian imports as being figured and *therefore* cogent proof of the prosperity of the native population, they are bound in common honesty to show separately how much of these represents goods destined for English residents, and how much represents commodities really destined for those native consumers whose condition is the very and the sole question in hand. A return of the claret imported for the mess, a return of the beer imported for the canteen of an English regiment, merely recapitulates so much taxes previously raised from natives as revenue, or so much mortgage previously charged to natives as debt, and now passing into consumption in the form of wine and malt liquor. Are such statements to be adduced as a demonstration that native taxpayers have either possessed the means or exercised the discretion of buying commodities to this amount?

One beholds dearth chronic and famine frequent, and one marvels what we are to appeal to when we come to be challenged by the starvelings to show cause to the world why this polity of ours should last one hour longer. Meanwhile the hippant optimist flaunts a schedule of 38 millions sterling of imports, a schedule which he has not even had the decorum to co-ordinate into some semblance of truthfulness.

Here is an enumeration, and only a partial enumeration of certain articles which figure in the 38 millions of imports, but notoriously do not enter at all in most cases, and in some cases enter only infinitesimally into consumption, on really native account.

	Declared value.	Remarks.
	£	
Agricultural implements ...	10,781	
Animals—Horses only ...	68,345	Chiefly from Australia, mostly for English residents and for Government cavalry.
Apparel ...	433,097	Chiefly from England, and imported for English residents.
Arms, ammunition, and military stores ...	74,297	
Art, works of ...	11,050	
Bottles ...	11,139	
Bricks ...	4,260	
Cabinet-ware ...	24,655	Most of this apparently destined for Govt. House at Bombay.

Candles	...	54,793
Carriages	...	21,736
Cement for building and engineering	...	9,002
Clay for ditto	...	2,654
Coal and Coke	...	467,096
Corks	...	13,109
Earthen and Porcelain-ware	...	74,819
Glass-ware	...	194,065
Government Stores	...	65,639
Groceries	...	12,799
Ice	...	13,951
Instruments, scientific	...	18,872
Liquors	{ Ales	311,686
	{ Ciders	711
	{ Wines	433,336
	{ Spirits	385,900
Lucifer Matches	...	41,571
Machines and Machinery	...	447,543
Military and other official Uniforms	...	10,639
Musical Instruments for regimental bands	...	3,517
Musical Instruments of other kinds	...	25,762
Naval Stores	...	87,122
Paper	...	279,544
Photographic materials	...	6,509
Provisions and Oilman's stores	...	292,520
Railway materials	...	1,466,067
Soap	...	12,578
Tea	...	114,055
Telegraphic materials	...	4,559
Tobacco	...	75,432
Toys and Games	...	38,996
Total "Merchandise"	...	£5,624,206

Thus we find that, of the vaunted 38 millions sterling of imports, 5 millions at least never find their way to those natives whose prosperity these figures are adduced to prove. If the original schedule were in such detail as to admit of fuller sifting, the deduction on this account would be found still greater. As it is, let us assume that the whole of the remainder of imports, namely, £33,234,523, does find its way to the 200

millions of natives in India, including of course the population of the Independent States, and we find that the figured demonstration of welfare represents a consumption of just 3s. 4d. per head. During the same year the consumption of foreign imports in the United Kingdom came to £3-16-9 per head (Statistical Abstract, U.K., Parliamentary Paper). In other words, measured by this test, (it is a favourite one among English economists), the people of India are 60 times poorer than those of the United Kingdom. How long is this system to last, of making these poverty-stricken millions entertain and pay for an army recruited from a population 60 times wealthier than they, a population whose boast it is to possess the highest standard of comfort in the world? What wonder that an Indian province should now-a-days be continually on the brink of famine?

If we could extricate, compile, and put aside the whole of those Indian imports which represent the private income, the public debt, and the railway mortgage held by aliens and absenteers, and which become, all of them, more or less burdensome to Indian industry, we should find that the remainder of the goods represents for the natives, for those millions who plough and sow, not luxury, not wealth, hardly even the comforts, but only the mere barest necessities of life. That residuum of imports which really returns to the labourers in exchange for all their exports records not the welfare, but only the survival of the native population. It is well that our millions of subjects here should have succeeded in buying some metal wherewith to repair or replace their household utensils. It is well that in 1870-71, the year of our review, the ryot should have succeeded in buying some little of the costly fabrics of Manchester for himself and his family. But the scanty dividends of every Indian bank of discount or exchange, and the still scantier profits of every mercantile firm in this country for that same year, disclosed the gulf which separates English sellers from Indian buyers. The returns of metals and of piece goods imported for 200 millions of people may seem a large amount in the aggregate, but how will this warrant the farther profusion of loans from England?—how will this warrant the farther imposition of mortgages upon India? It is all very well that in the year under review the people of Bengal should have succeeded in importing 435,337 cwts. of foreign salt, mostly from Liverpool, valued in Calcutta at £688,265. It is all very well that the people of Bengal should have succeeded not only in buying this salt but in paying taxes thereon over and above to the unparalleled amount of several hundred per cent. on prime cost. These are, among the "spirit-stirring facts" which, according to Sir Richard Temple, "recall the sentiment of the historian [whatever that may mean], excite thankfulness

"in all hopeful minds, and hope in the breast of all patriots."* To humbler men it cannot but be a subject of grief, that the inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency should not be allowed to partake more freely of the cheap salt of their own country which is cast up so bountifully along the shores of their own lakes and seas. Would it stir the patriotic soul of Sir Richard Temple to include in his enumeration of assessments a revenue from rainfall? Would his heart glow with sentiment over his budget if he could succeed in sealing up the clouds of the firmament over India, and compel the Hindu husbandman to purchase the rain and the dew from a Glasgow monopolist of the monsoon, and over and above pay a duty of several hundred per cent. *ad-valorem*?

Such a measure, if it were but practicable, would certainly obtain full justification in those extraordinary doctrines which have recently been propounded in the highest quarters about the water rights and the forest rights of an alien government. The Hindu and Muhammadan might almost adopt the very words of the Lamentation of Jeremiah.—'Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens. Our necks are under persecution, we labour and have no rest. Servants have ruled over us: there is none that doth deliver us out of their hand.

* His financial exposition, 6th March 1869.

It is well to turn from bunkum of this sort to the words of a real Statesman, just to put the bad taste out of one's mouth. Mr Bright once refuted a similar argument in these words; "Some people believe that it is a good thing to pay a great revenue to the State. Even so eminent a man as Lord John Russell is not without a delusion of this sort.

"* * * Sometime ago he made a speech, in which there was a great deal to be admired, to a meeting composed, it was said, to a great extent of working men; and in it he stimulated them to a feeling of pride in the greatness of their country and in being citizens of a State which enjoyed a revenue of £100,000,000 a year which included revenues of the United Kingdom and of British India. But I think it would have been far more to the purpose if he could have congratulated the working

men of Liverpool on *this* vast empire being conducted in an orderly manner, on *its* laws being well administered and well obeyed; *its* shores sufficiently defended; *its* people prosperous and happy, on a revenue of £20,000,000. The State indeed, of which Lord John Russell is a part, may enjoy a revenue of £100,000,000, but I am afraid the working men can only be said to enjoy it in the sense, in which men, not very choice in their expressions, say that for a long time they have enjoyed very bad health."

Now turn to page 303, and contrast with Mr. Bright's dignified conception of veritable political greatness, the "boundless prairie" phillistinism of Mr. Grant Duff. "Sweetness and light," forsooth! Clammy sweetness and garish light, fit for the *Daily Telegraph*, or for the British House of Commons, or for the caucus of an American orator on the stump declaiming—

About our patriotic pas an' our star-spangled banner
Our country's bird a lookin' on an' singin' out hisinner.

" Our skin was black like an oven because of the terrible famine.
 " We have drunken our water for money ; our wood is sold
 " unto us."

In a recent number of this *Review* there was a translation from the Bengali of a few lines in which some village rhymester had described these same lofty prerogatives which have recently been incorporated with *la haute politique* —

" The fruit of so much labour, the blood of the bodies of the
 " people,

" Taking this to preserve their rule—*what sort of greatness
 " is this ?*

" This is killing a cow to supply a Brahman with shoes.

" The cry of the ryots is like that of a frog in the mouth of a
 " snake.

" The assessors are their grandfathers' fathers. † Instead of
 " a handful they fill their arms ;

" Coming on the poor, like the King of Death, they go from vil-
 " lage to village.

" As a water melon, which may be held in the hand contains
 " seven handfuls of seeds,

" So these clever fellows get ten rupees, when the income-tax
 " is one rupee only.

" The tax used to be on the land ; then it fell on the water,
 " and oh ! mother ! what will the end be ?

" Thus thinking, the Wind flew away in terror, saying, ' By
 " and bye they will seize me too by the hair of the head.'

" If this be so in time of peace, when war comes our very lives
 " will be taken :

" If the water-courses are dry in the wet season, the dry season
 " will bring death.

" When the word is given our fortunes flow to the treasury,

" As a child might to its nurse's arms when she calls.

" Lord Lawrence's reign being over, we thought that trouble was
 " past :—

" Past is it ? or but coming ? Any one may see,

" The dark age is only beginning."

One of our own poets has described in similar but perhaps more cultivated language, a gulf like that which separates rulers up at Simla with their *taille*, and their *gabelle*, and their canal *corvée* from the peasants beneath on the plains,—

" In the hollow Lotos-land they live and lie reclined

" On the hills like Gods together, far above mankind :

" For they lie beside their nectar, and the bolts are hurld

" Far below them in the valleys, and the clouds are lightly curl'd

" Round their golden houses, girdled with the gleaming world :

" Where they smile in secret, looking over wasted lands,
 " Blight and famine, plague and earthquake, roaring deeps and fiery sands:
 " But they smile, they find a music centred in a doleful song
 " Steaming up, a lamentation, and an ancient tale of wrong,
 " Like a tale of little meaning though the words are strong ;
 " Chanted from an ill-used race of men that cleave the soil,
 " Sow the seed, and reap the harvest with enduring toil,
 " Storing yearly little dues of wheat, and wine and oil ;
 " Till they perish and they suffer—some, 'tis whispered,—down in hell
 " Suffer endless anguish, others in Elysian valleys dwell,
 " Resting weary limbs at last on beds of asphodel.

But as regards a comparison between the legislation from Simla and the legislation from Olympus, I do not remember having read anywhere in ancient mythology that the Homeric deities spent so much as £30,000 or £40,000 a year at the beginning and end of the hot season in lugging up and down their administrative apparatus, including the very founts and type for printing their decrees. This is another subject that deserves the attention of Mr. Gladstone.

The analysis of the items of imports brings into prominence one notable characteristic of Indian commerce. The optimists vaunt the 96 millions sterling of annual imports and exports, and would have people believe that these figures represent masses of wealth moving by nothing but free stipulation, and thus, and thus mainly or solely, equipoising or oscillating towards equipoise. But should some one analyse the schedules of imports, and confute the assurances of prosperity and wealth, these very same optimists (their tricks are a thousand, their bosoms are one), respond in antistrophic declamation over the indolence, the improvidence, the low standard of comfort, and all the innate depravities, which are then said to characterise the natives of India. The journalist and the official take up the same parable in defence of their common cause. "An ordinary native can live comfortably on twopence a day. He needs nothing more than a few rags of clothing, a handful of rice and pulse and a little curry stuff." [Everybody remembers the ducal receipt of a little curry recommended by His Grace of Norfolk against the pinching of insufficient food.] "Imports of only 3s. 4d. per head per annum ! So little is the demand as yet in India for our English manufactures. After all these natives are but an ignorant and inert folk, *the slaves of a gross superstition.*" Their habits are primitive, they have little ambition and

" *The slaves of a gross superstition*,"—the easy aspersions of the population of Orissa by a former Lieutenant Governor in a gazetted minute on the re-attainment of the province. The famine was wound up by a proposition in this minute to increase the land assessment by 25 per cent as a stimulus to industry. In the same

way the present Lieutenant-Governor has recently (December 1871) gazetted the zamindars of Orissa as "*a specially unscrupulous and incorrigible set of men.*" Mr. Tennyson's Northern Farmer, who, however, knew himself to be but a sad heathen laid down a similarly broad proposition : "*The poor in a lump are bad.*"

"less progress. Laziness is inherent in the very nature of the mild Hindu, bigotry is essential to the very being of the sulky Muhammadan."

This invocation of metaphysical entities to apologise or explain away the proofs of misrule is an old, old story. We have heard it over and over again any day these hundred years about another people who even yet are only painfully struggling out of the pernicious effects of a conquest without incorporation, absenteeism, poverty, and crushed-out manufactures. "Is it not," said Mr. John Stuart Mill, therein more of the sociologist than of the economist, "is it not a bitter satire on the mode in which opinions are formed on the most important problems of human nature and life to find public instructors of the greatest pretension imputing the backwardness of Irish industry and the want of energy of the Irish people in improving their condition to a peculiar indolence and insouciance in the Celtic race? Of all modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences. What race would not be indolent and insouciant when things are so arranged that they derive no advantage from forethought and exertion? If such are the arrangements in the midst of which they live and work, what wonder if the listlessness and indifference so engendered are not shaken off the first moment an opportunity offers when exertion would really be of use?"

Before I have done with the statics of Indian commerce, it remains for me to verify by one or two more tests, the compulsoriness of certain exports and the factitiousness of certain imports. If it is by uncoerced, spontaneous action alone, if it is solely by mere advance in prosperity that Indian exports and imports have reached these figures (which, however, cease to appear prodigious when considered in connection with the area and the population concerned) then let some of these optimists explain how it comes that the local maritime trade of India along its own coasts should be so disproportionate to the maritime trade with England. Here are the figures for 1870-71.—

The Indian trade with Great Britain by the Cape and by Suez is returned at £58,393,346, thus :—

Exports of Indian <i>Merchandise</i> (so called) to	
England	... .. £30,194,306
Imports of English <i>Merchandise</i> (so called) to	
India	... .. 28,199,040
Total...	58,393,346

The Indian trade within the Indian seas only, that is to say, at all the ports between Arabia and Siam, both those Indian ports which are British and those Indian ports also which are not British, is returned at £20,452,221, thus :—

Exports both of Foreign <i>Merchandise</i> (so called)	
and also of Indian Produce and Manufactures ...	£10,356,930
Imports both of Foreign <i>Merchandise</i> (so called)	
and of Indian Produce and Manufactures ...	10,095,291
Total ...	<hr/> 20,452,221

The disproportion between the two trades is really much greater than these figures of 58 millions sterling and 20 millions sterling indicate. For much of this so-called coasting trade of India consists really of re-entries of trade with the United Kingdom, that is to say, represents goods actually on their way to or from the United Kingdom *via* some Indian Port of primary entry or discharge. Moreover the figures of coasting trade include large amounts of railway material and other foreign-imposed mortgage, goods which have as little to do with genuine merchandise as a remainder of a loan when dubbed a revenue cash balance by a charlatan financier has to do with a veritable surplus. Now will some of those gushing patriots, whose hearts, according to Sir Richard Temple, swell with sentiment, thankfulness, and hopefulness over such spirit-stirring figures as these, will they deign to explain this striking disproportion? How comes it that the maritime exchanges of over 200 millions of people among themselves amount to only £20,000,000 while the maritime exchanges of these same 200 millions, with a remote population on the other side of the globe, amount to £58,000,000? (In other years than 1870-71 the disproportion will be found to be much greater even than this). How comes it that the people of Madras should have so much more dealings with a cold island at the uttermost end of the planet, and so little with their next door neighbours in Bengal? It was not always so. The coasting trade of the Coromandel was not always so inconsiderable in proportion to its foreign trade. A share in the coasting trade of the Indies was thought a most lucrative and desirable business for the Honourable Company of merchant adventurers trading to the East, in those days when they had not yet taken to government,—those happier days before the Company had come to be, in the words of Burke “that thing which was supposed by the Roman law irreconcilable to reason and propriety—*eundem negotia-torem et dominum*, the same power becoming the general

"trader, the same power the supreme lord"? Where is now the pre-eminence of Ormuz, Surat, Calicut and Bencoleen, and the other places that figure in the early commercial annals of the East? The Madras coast, once populous with skilful manufacturers, has now to export grain from a scanty reserve of food, and to deport disemployed labourers to weed sugarcane in the West Indies. Dacca, once a great city, rich with wonderful muslins, is now a collection of squalid, jungly, and feverish hovels. Antiquarians and travellers tell us of the intimate and beneficial relations that must have existed between India on the one hand and Java and other tropical and sub-tropical regions on the other hand, in those ages when neither Java had been exploited by the Dutch, nor India, Ceylon and Burmah had come under commercial servitude to the English. But now we have to confess and deplore that the risk from vicissitudes of seasons in India is aggravated by the commercial isolation which cuts off India from her neighbours in times of scarcity, and by a plantation system which sometimes sacrifices and always embarrasses and jeopardises hosts of human lives for the sake of a few staples of European luxury and riches such as Coffee, Indigo, Sugar and Cotton.* I shall return to this lamentable subject when I come to treat of the commercial dynamics, to which indeed it more properly belongs.

It will doubtless be urged as a reply to my statement, that the exchanges of the 200 millions of natives which I have taken into consideration are only the maritime exchanges, whereas there are other and important inland exchanges conducted by railway waggon, by bullock cart and by river boat which have been omitted in my reckoning. Be it noted however that my comparison between the Indian trade within the Indies and the Indian trade with the British islands professes to deal solely with the sea-borne goods. If I have omitted the inland transport of Indian goods within India, I have likewise omitted the inland transport of Indian goods within England. A moment's consideration will disclose why such a comparison must be confined to the sea-borne trade in both cases. There are no figures of the inland trade in England, and much less in India which can be relied on. (Yet, if tolerably accurate enumerations could be procured, they would certainly bear out my argument.) It is easy to scrutinise the loading and unloading of a cargo over a ship's side in a few harbours, but it would be impossible to enumerate the loads of bullock cart and river boat on every road and field and stream over 1½ millions of square miles. Above all there is an admirable test available for verifying the returns of the maritime exchanges, namely, the rate and amount of the

* Compare Blue book on Orissa Famine, page 344.

customs' duties actually realised upon these transactions. No such verification can be attempted for the inland exchanges.

I know, indeed, that there are administration and other reports especially of the Central Provinces—that highly favoured region of optimist verbiage—reports that bristle with annual schedules of the inland trade of this territory and that district, all multiplied, added, divided, and averaged *ad infinitum*. In default of some such means of verification as I have just described, I reckon these official and optimist guesses to be even less valuable than the local officers' estimates of grain stock in Orissa, on the eve of the famine, that is, I reckon them a good deal worse than worthless.

Turning now from the customs' returns of the Government, I shall appeal for a verification to the personal experience of the merchant. There is hardly a merchant who settles anywhere in India, especially beyond the permanently assessed lands of Lower Bengal, that does not at first experience bewilderment for a time over these official tables of millions upon millions sterling of exports. For a while he fails to realise the prodigious poverty of the country. Taught, however, by experience, he begins to appreciate the actual situation of Indian trade, the paucity of entrepreneurs, the scantiness of stocks of produce, and the enormous difficulty of extending business except by venturing upon numerous and precarious advances on security of the most hazardous character. At last he discovers that much of those Indian customs-house returns bear no analogy whatever to the port entries of other countries to whose statistics he is accustomed. For his purposes those Indian returns of exports and imports are utterly factitious, for they have nothing whatsoever to do with exchanges, or with merchandise, or with the like purport of the bulk of the customs' registers in other countries than India.

Our Indian statesmen are always seeking to vindicate the success of our rule in India by political economy. What has political economy to do with the case? The economist tells us that the exports and imports of a nation equate or oscillate towards equation by what he calls the action of international supply and demand, whereby according to him the aggregate of imports is exactly paid for by the aggregate of exports. But in India the so-called exports and imports do not equate nor oscillate towards equation at all. The year's exports from India almost invariably exceed the year's imports into India, a feature to be found in no other country over such a range of time and upon such a scale in amount. The economist tells us that if a country's exports or sales of merchandise be in excess of its imports, then the whole of the difference will be found to be imported in bullion. In India the balance between exports and im-

ports, a balance in favour of India, is not liquidated to the full in bullion, nor in any other commodity at all. The economist tells us that if the exports of one country A to another country B be in excess of A's imports from B, and if the difference be not liquidated in bullion, then the rate of exchange at B and A respectively, are in favour of B and against A. He tells us that these features of premium and discount are only temporary, for that at last A will be induced to buy (import) more from B, or which is the same thing from C a debtor of A, or else that B will be obliged to economise and buy less from A, and that then those conditions of premium and discount will cease to characterise the exchanges. The economist tells that there will ensue retrenchment on the one side or profusion on the other, so that the aggregate of exports from either country will no longer be seriously exceeded by the aggregate of imports into that country. But what is it that actually occurs in Indian exchanges? The normal rate of exchange is and for years it continues to be against India, and for that matter is mostly but little in favour of and is often against England; the exports from India continue to be in excess of the imports; the balance to be made good to India is not liquidated to the full in silver; England does not retrench in her consumption of Indian produce. Let the shareholders of Indian banks consider how the very foundations of their business are thus undermined by those officials who profess the gospel of Free Trade. Such and so signal are the confutations of the so-called laws of political economy which Indian affairs present.

It is not the metaphysics of that pretended science that will measure or explain the relations between India and England. The following few words of an obscure paragraph in Mr. Mill's Political Economy are enough to show that his two volumes are void of jurisdiction in these questions of our Indian empire. They show also that the so-called laws of international have as many exceptions as the so-called laws of interpersonal exchange. I italicise some of the expressions.

"Before closing this discussion it is fitting to point out in what manner and degree the preceding conclusions are affected by the existence of international payments *not originating in commerce*, and for which no equivalent in either money or commodities is expected or received; such as, *a tribute or remittance of rent to absentee landlords or of interest to foreign creditors, or a Government expenditure abroad*, such as England incurs in the management of some of her colonial dependencies.

"To begin with the (assumed) case of barter. The supposed an-

" nual remittances being made in commodities, and being exports for
 " which there is no return, it is no longer requisite that the imports
 " and exports should pay for one another : on the contrary there
 " must be an annual excess of exports over imports, equal to the
 " value of the remittance. If, before the country became liable to
 " the annual payment, foreign commerce was in its natural state of
 " equilibrium, it will now be necessary for the sake of effecting
 " the remittances, that foreign countries should be induced to take
 " a greater quantity of goods than before : which can only be done
 " by offering those exports on cheaper terms, or in other words, by
 " paying dearer for foreign commodities. The international values
 " will so adjust themselves that either, by greater exports or by
 " smaller imports or both, the requisite excess on the side of ex-
 " ports will be brought about ; and this excess will become the
 " permanent state. The result is, that a country which makes
 " regular [rather, regulated or obligatory] payment to foreign
 " countries, besides losing what it pays, loses also something
 " more by the less advantageous terms on which it is forced to
 " exchange its productions for foreign commodities.

" The same results follow on the supposition of money. Com-
 " merce being supposed to be in a state of equilibrium when the
 " obligatory remittances begin, the first remittance is necessarily
 " made in money. This lowers prices in the remitting country and
 " raises them in the receiving. The natural effect is that more
 " commodities are exported, &c. * * * * *

" * * The result to the interests of the two countries will
 " be as already pointed out : *the paying country will give a*
 " *higher price for all that it buys from the receiving country,*
 " *while the latter besides receiving the tribute obtains the export-*
 " *table produce of the tributary country at a lower price.* (Book
 " iii. Chapter xxi. Sec. 4. *International payments of a non-*
 " *commercial character.*)

The extensive catalogue of exemptions set forth in this
 cautious proviso of Mr. Mill, shows that the Indian problem
 is not to be solved by political economy. That problem is not
 capable of being solved at all except by the veritable science of
 sociology. Mr. Mill himself who in his best days was the disciple
 of Comte but

• Che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto

• has made his political economy instructive only in so far as he has
 overstepped the limits assigned by his predecessors and has, more or
 less inconsistently with his own premises, extended the scope of his
 treatise towards a social instead of merely a monetary philosophy.
 As Mr. Mill formerly claimed a wider domain than Mr. Ricardo, so
 now his successors also the younger economists are resenting the
 bounds and definitions set by Mr. Mill, and thus the wordy

and metaphysical wrangles of these various exponents as to the actual extent of their jurisdiction demonstrate the instability of their anarchic interregnum.

The discredited idols of Political Economy will afford our Indian ministers but little protection in the impending crisis. The spontaneity postulated by the economist is negated by the very statement of the relations between India and England. Other and more potent influences having been found to be at work, why do our Indian ministers not proceed to deal with these? Why do they persist in recurring to hypothetical assumptions which confessedly are displaced in the particular case? The Indian financier dons the ephod of the political economist in order to prophesy smooth things over a discredited and doomed régime. Presently he, like the poor usher De Breze, will be commanded by some Mirabeau to stand aside with his Urim and his Thummim as having no longer place nor utterance here.

It is not the first time that metaphysics, the invariable resource of retrograde politicians, have been resorted to for disproof of English failure in India. In 1788 the metaphysical laws of English evidence were invoked and with success to screen Indian oppression. In 1872 the not less metaphysical laws of political economy are invoked (is it so to be recorded,—with success?), to deny Indian impoverishment.

"I have too much confidence," said Edmund Burke addressing a tribunal which subsequently proved itself all unworthy of his confidence, "I have too much confidence in the learning with which you will be advised, and the liberality and nobleness of the sentiments with which you are born, to suspect that you would by any abuse of forms and by a technical course of proceeding, deny justice to so great a part of the world that claims it at your hands. Your Lordships always had an ample power, and almost unlimited jurisdiction; you have now a boundless object. It is not from this district, or from that parish, not from this city, or the other province, that relief is now applied for: exiled and undone princes, extensive tribes, suffering nations, infinite descriptions of men different in language, in manner and in rites, men separated by every barrier of nature from you by the providence of God, are blended in one common cause, and are now become suppliants at your bar. For the honour of this nation, in vindication of this mysterious providence, let it be known that no rule formed upon municipal maxims, (if any such rule exists), will prevent the course of that imperial justice which you owe to the people that call to you from all parts of a great disjointed world. * * *

* * * * * God forbid that when you try the most serious of all causes, that when you try the cause of Asia

' in the presence of Europe, there should be the least suspicion
' that a narrow partiality utterly destructive of justice should
' so guide us, that a British subject in power should appear
' in substance to possess rights which are denied to the humble
' allies, to the attached dependents of this kingdom, who by
' their distance have a double demand upon your protection,
' and who by an implicit, I hope not a weak and useless, trust
' in you, have stripped themselves of every other resource under
heaven.

• JAMES GEDDES.

NOTE A (page 319)

In the present depression of our Indian banks, both those of discount and those of exchange—a depression from which there is no hope of early relief—the unfortunate shareholders may well take into serious consideration the portentous influence over their affairs exerted by the Government. How is it possible for their affairs to prosper when the really commercial business of genuine exchange is so completely dominated by one single authority, an authority utterly beyond competition as being far above loss, an authority whose nett drawings reach the unparalleled amount of £13,000,000 a year? What sort of field is left to the exchange banks in a commerce, if commerce it may be called, of some £50,000,000 a year either way? Nor is it only the business of exchange that is thus handicapped. This single autocrat, himself the master of 200,000 bayonets, influences the Indian business of inland discount as heavily as he does the Indian business of foreign exchange. The shareholders of all Indian banks will be fortunate if our leading official bank in India, in which unofficial banks are necessarily interested, succeed in extricating itself without a painful crisis from its present unsound condition of having the bulk of its capital, a capital but little reinforced by private deposits, locked up in Government securities. The excuse of the directors, a very natural excuse, for locking up so much of their means in this way, instead of keeping it employed within easy call in the regular discount bills of proper banking is this, that Indian trade is, and for a long time has been, very slack. The words "excessive and prolonged slackness of Indian business,"—what are they but a round about phrase for general Indian impoverishment? Meanwhile the directors trust that the scantiness of private deposits will continue to be supplemented by cash balances of Government revenue lent "to subserve the interests of commerce." Vain expectation! For the present it is pleasant to have a dividend eked out by the profits on Government money lying on deposit. But these so-called cash balances of Government revenue are in fact borrowings, and borrowings are

apt to become exhausted, and then comes the crisis as in 1855. Even if the sums lent on deposit by Government were genuine revenue balances it would be unwise to trust in them so much. For the deposit account of a solitary millionaire is not so reliable for banking purposes as the deposit accounts of a thousand men with each a thousand pounds. The millionaire may change his mind at any moment and suddenly draw on demand in full. Not so with the *average* of a multitude of customers. Again, the millionaire's means may fail *him*, and this is what is sure to happen sooner or later with the millionaire depositor of borrowed "cash balances" whose case we are now considering.

I shall take another example of the same argument from the case of exchanges. Let the shareholders, who have been smarting under the scanty dividends of Indian banks of exchange, consider what sort of "*business*" is the Secretary of State's drawing account of £13,000,000 a year. Little brokerage will the banks reap upon that set of drafts compared with what they might reasonably expect to secure from transactions to the same amount in aggregate, but spread over a multitude of private individuals.

When one notices the prominence of Indian Government Securities in the half-yearly investment statements of our banks and insurance companies in India and at home, one cannot but be shocked at the misery which is awaiting the numerous and helpless victims of the impending crisis in Indian commerce and finance.

ART. IX.—THE HINDU CASTES.

1.—*Hindu Tribes and Castes as represented in Benares.* By the Rev. M. A. Sherring, M.A., LL.B. Calcutta. Thacker and Spink. 1872.

2.—*Memoirs of the History, Folk Lore and distribution of the Races of the North-Western Provinces of India.* By the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B. Edited by John Beames, M.R.A.S. Part I, castes and their sub-divisions. London. Trübner & Co. 1869.

THE subject of the two books before us is one which, although it bears upon every point connected with the daily life of every resident in India, has yet to be thoroughly investigated. Although we have now been masters of Hindustan for well-nigh a century, and intimately connected with its people for twice that period, we have as yet made no great steps in understanding the curious and artificial net-work of custom which forms the basis of their social and religious polity. Theories of ethnology we have had in abundance, all more or less useless, because framed merely from one point of view, either religion, language, or physical aspect being taken in each case as the hobby horse which was to be ridden to death.

Two main causes have been at work to prevent any inquiries, that may have been made on this subject, from standing on their own merits and being capable of being utilised by future enquirers in going into further details. The first is the extraordinary perversity shown by even those acquainted with the subject, in persisting in the belief that the four castes of Manu are still existing and that the so-called mixed castes arose out of them. This has all but rendered useless, the otherwise valuable information to be derived from the census of the North-West Provinces, which preceded that now under compilation; and it gravely disfigures the otherwise valuable book of Mr. Sherring now under our consideration. It should never be lost sight of that, whether the fourfold division of castes by Manu had ever a real existence, or was, as there seems some reason to think, a merely ideal state to which the Bráhmans, if powerful enough, were to strive to attain, it has never been in force within the period of which we possess any trustworthy records. At the present day not only is no distinct Sudra caste found anywhere, but it is impossible to separate those of the trading classes, who have a right to be called Vaisiyas from those who have not. Nay, more, the meaner classes of Rájputs have often so mixed with the other tribes around them that it is extremely difficult to say whether they should be called Rájputs or no; and even in the

case of the Bráhmans, there are divisions amongst them, which evidently were not contemplated by the great Hindu lawgiver.

The next obstacle is the ethnological one. Nothing has done more to frustrate the results of inquiries in this direction, than the practice of drawing a hard and fast line between Aryans and Non-Aryans. Whilst some classes have kept themselves almost free from intermixture with their surroundings, others seem to have freely mingled with the aborigines; some probably aboriginal tribes have adopted the language and religion of their conquerors, whilst others have retained one or other of these or merely modified them. It is this tendency to theorise ethnologically without sufficient data to go on that has led the author of Orissa to class as inferior Bráhmans, the Gadis of the Himalayas, the Bhuinhars of Behar, and others, who, though pretending to the title of Bráhmans, are not admitted to be so by any other caste. The Bhuinhars, in fact, in some places call themselves Rájputs. The same confusion arises with regard to the Rájputs, amongst whom the Jats and Gujars are frequently classed, though all their rites and customs tend to show that they are really tribes of Goallas.

It is greatly to be regretted that the Government of India has never called for returns of the castes and sub-divisions of castes in the different provinces. Some sort of attempt was made at the time of the compilation of the Glossary, but the information given was meagre, and Sir Henry Elliot at once showed how incomplete was the list. With the exception of the Glossary and Supplement, a few scattered works here and there such as Reades' *Inferior Castes of the North-West*, and Carnegie's *Races of Oudh*, are all the contributions we have to the subject, save Mr. Sherring's attempt to do for Benares what we should wish to see done for all India.

We noticed at first what we consider a grave defect in the arrangement of the book; that is, an attempt to reduce the arrangement in some sort to the fourfold division of Manu, a natural result of which is such grievous collocations as that of the Banjars (a tribe with no more pretensions to caste than Nats or Kanjars) with Agarwalas and other classes, who have considerable claims to be considered as typical Vaisiyas.

We must also denounce in the strongest terms the introduction of notices of eminent inhabitants of Benares into the body of the book. These so-called historical sketches, though they would doubtless increase the sale of the volume amongst the friends and admirers of those whose lives are related, form no part of the subject matter which gives its name to the book, and would much more fittingly have been placed in a separate volume. In the case, at least, of the Bhuinhars, the introduction of the life of the Maharajah of Benares, has led the author to place that tribe amongst

the Sarwaria Bráhmans, a position which the Sarwaria Bráhmans indignantly repudiate, and which is not admitted by any other caste. No Bráhmaic honours are paid by any caste to the Babhans or Bhuihars. They have some curious rules within which they and Rájputs may take food from one another, "and in Chota Nagpur they claim to be Rájputs. They adopt surnames alike of Bráhmans and Rájputs, Singh, Towari, Rai, Panre, and the like; but the names of their clans are, almost without exception framed from the Rájputs. Their customs present a striking similarity to those of the warrior class, and in fact, except their own assertion, there seems to be not one single reason for believing the curious statement made by Mr. Campbell in his *Ethnology of India* that there is "no doubt that this class "is formed by an intermixture of Bráhmans with some inferior caste." Mr. Sherring admits this to be "untenable," but proposes no solution of his own. Another serious difficulty in digesting the contents of the book also arises from the continual cross-divisions we meet with. Thus, in one chapter, Parwal and Palliwal are classed with Khatri, in another they appear as a sub-division of Oswal. Muriyai and Savaiya, the two largest sub-divisions of Mallahs, are found both under Mallahs and Kahars. Bausphor are included under Dharkar and Mehtar; and Pasi, though enumerated as a separate caste, is also included as a sub-division of Khatik. Further enquiry, and more careful revision will doubtless eliminate these blemishes.

The introduction is mainly occupied with extracts from Manu. It then embarks into the question as to whether the primitive castes were three or four in number, a speculation quite as profitable as whether Hengist and Horsa came over in three or more ships, and quite as easily determined. Our author proceeds, "The only castes that have for the most part preserved "their purity of blood are the Bráhmans, the Kshatriyas, and perhaps some of the Vaisiyas." Under which head would he rank the Kayasthas, who are perhaps the most clearly demarked of existing castes, both as a whole and in their sub-divisions? The first thing that strikes the reader, when he comes to the book itself, is the vastly disproportionate space allotted to the Bráhmans and Rájputs to that given to the rest of the tribes. The manners and customs of the Bráhmans, as regards their religious observances and ceremonial, have been so often treated of, that we may well pass over them here, nor do we see the object of their introduction in the volume before us. We come next to the divisions of the two typical branches of Bráhmans, Gaur and Dravira. These, excluding as they do at least thirty tribes of Bráhmans, and only including by a side wind the Bráhmans of Bengal, can be said to possess no more than an antiquarian interest. The whole of the

account of the Bráhmans is, in fact, encumbered to such a degree with the fanciful Gotras derived from the Vedas they are presumed to follow, that it would be extremely difficult to turn this part of the book to any practical use.

In section III., however, of Chapter IV., we come to a point of the greatest interest. The Bráhmans here enumerated are all employed in sacerdotal functions, and are all looked down upon by the non-priestly Bráhmans. Thus, we have the curious anomaly that in the priestly caste the performance of any priestly function is considered degrading. The duty of a Bráhman is not to perform the office of priest but to read the Vedas. We have the Mahábráhman, who performs the funeral ceremonies, and whom his brother Bráhmans will not touch. The Gungaputra, commonly called the Ghát Bráhman, whose name is a by-word, Pandas or temple priests, Barna Bráhmans who conduct the worship of the lower castes, Gyawals and Prayagwals who rule over the ceremonies connected with pilgrimages to Gya and Allahabad, Ojhas (confounded by Dr. Hunter with Maithila Bráhmans of whom they are a degraded race) exercising the vocation of Wizards, Dayabagyas Ganaks and Jansi Bráhmans who cast horoscopes and predict events. All these are looked upon as a lower class by the orthodox Bráhman. The cause of this remains yet to be explained.

The Bhuinhars we have already noticed above. It is only needful to add that the necessity of making a Bráhman of the Maharajah of Benares has caused the invention of a tribe of Bhuinhar Rájputs. The two so-called tribes are one and the same. Of the remaining tribes of Gaur Bráhmans, the Jijhotiya and Saraswat claim no particular notice. The Taga Gaur Bráhmans seem in everything but name to be identical with the Bhuinhars; and there seems to be some ground for supposing that the Bengali Tagores (properly Thákur) are an offshoot from them. Like the Bhuinhars, the regular Bráhmans repudiate all connection with them; and as Mr. Beames says at the conclusion of Sir Henry Elliot's lengthy disquisition on them, there seems no reason for supposing them to be anything but low Aryans.—The Maithil and Utkala Bráhmans are very rapidly despatched by Mr. Sherring.

Amongst Dravira Bráhmans, the Konkan tribe amongst the Mahrattas seems to have of the greatest claim to distinction. With regard to these and other Mahratta Bráhmans, Mr. Campbell seems to have distinguished himself by travelling far into the realms of pure conjecture. Though Mr. Sherring states these suspicions, it is merely to dissent from them, and so far most people will go with him. The rest of the Dravira Bráhmans are not very remarkable, except the Nágárs, who were at one time renowned for their fighting qualities.

Amongst the so-called supplementary tribes of Bráhmans, the

Sakadwipi Bráhmans are chiefly remarkable for their great numbers, and for the fact that they will drink from a vessel from which another person has already drunk. The Kashmiri Pandits are said to be the only Hindu caste to be found in Kashmir. They are wonderfully fair and have no objection to flesh-eating. Numbers of them are now settled in India.

The Rájputs, though so widely spread and well-known a race have had little done to elucidate their history since the publication of Tod's Rájasthán. Certainly not much is added by quoting from Campbell's *Ethnology* that "their wives are shut up in seclusion and lost for agricultural labour," a statement not only contradicted by Tod, who says "To attend and aid in the minutiae of husbandry is by no means uncommon with them, as to dress and carry the meals of their husbands to the fields is a general practice," but at variance with the commonly observed custom at the present day, where the husband is absent as a soldier, or in service, for the wife to carry on the farming of the patrimony.

It seems a pity that Tod's classification of 36 royal races should be accepted as anything but a purely ornamental arrangement, founded as it was on lists differing considerably both in the numbers and names of the tribes included in it, and containing at least two tribes, the Jats and Gujars, with whom the Rájputs do not even generally intermarry. There are, it appears, 99 distinct tribes of Rájputs in Benares, though Mr. Carnegy could only find 29, only so far off as Oudh. The first tribe we find mentioned is that of the Gahlots, the reason being that it is the tribe to which belongs the Maharajah of Vizianagram, of whom our author has subjoined a sketch. A division of the Rájputs into Surajbansi, Chandrabansi, and Agnibansi, with the subordinated Gotras Jadubansi and Nagbansi, plus the Thákur and other spurious or degenerate tribes, would have been much more useful than the scattered notices we have of the extant tribes. Not but that many of them are worthy of their separate notices. The Gautams, Bais and Chauháns are races whose history is the early history of Hindustan. The strife between the Chandels and Chauháns would furnish materials for a history in itself. The Powars and Solaukhis are also tribes well known in the records of early Aryan strife. The Tuars (who claim Anand Pal as one of their Rajas) were kings of Delhi while the Gahawars were rulers of Benares. The Rathors are remarkable for having served the Musalman invaders as soldiers and greatly assisted them in their conquest. Some of them are now Musalmáns; but still call themselves by their gentile name. The Rajwars have little or no pretension to be considered Rájputs, and the Nikhamb, another of the so-called royal tribes, are merely a division of the

Chauháns on their own confession. A curious custom prevails amongst the Baghels that they never marry within their own tribe, an admission (possibly) of inferior descent. The Jats and Gujars are enumerated as Rájputs and have a chapter to themselves. We must disagree with the sentiment that it would have been out of place to discuss their origin, as on that pin hangs their position. It seems to be generally admitted that they do not intermarry with Rájputs; and although Mr. Sherring says there is good reason for the belief that such alliances have been formed, Tod distinctly denies it. Like the Gujars their habits are pastoral, and the practice of allowing second marriage points to some lower class than Rájputs as their forefathers. It seems very probable that the claim of the Gujars of Bijnaur to be Goallas is a true one.

We come now to what our author terms the Mixed Classes—Vaisiyas, Sudras and others. The title involves an error in the face of it, as Vaisiyas and Sudras are not mixed classes. The position assumed that the Vaisiyas were originally “chiefly engaged in rural pursuits” which is alleged to be incontestable, destitute as it is of one iota of proof, calls for but little remark. Roving as the Aryan immigrants were continually, they had little chance of becoming agriculturists, and it is hardly likely that the more herdsmen of the cattle which like the Scythians, they probably carried along with them, would have formed a part of the twice born classes. The statement, too, that the Vaisiya and Sudra class have become “intimately blended” would be of some value if any Vaisiya or any Sudra caste could be shown ever to have existed. But we may safely pass over the preliminary chapter, which, assuming as it does, the existence of a Sudra caste and describing as common to the different tribes of this caste, ceremonies which vary in important points in every one of these tribes can be but of very minor interest.

The next chapter contains an account of religious devotees; who, as having dispensed with caste altogether, are hardly well selected as typical Vaisiyas or Sudras. The first division commences with a gross error as to the term Gosain. Gosain is not used vaguely by Hindus at all, but is as invariably used as a distinctive generic title of devotees, who follow the worship of Vishnu as Baishtab or Baisnab, but is generally confined to the Gurus of that profession. The Dasnamis are well known as the Purohitas of many of the lower castes, but the list given of them is certainly incorrect. Several of these sects of devotees have much that is curious, and some of them somewhat that is admirable in their precepts and practice; but as they have but little bearing on the subject of caste, they call for no mention here, except that they afford a long standing proof of the irksomeness of the Bráhmanic

fetter, and of the readiness with which (on any religious pretext), it could be cast off.

The next chapter is almost ludicrous in the collocation. Here we have the sacred bard (the Bhat) and the herald (the Charan) castes, ranking almost with Bráhmans and Rájputs, and to this day claiming and receiving the courtesy title of Maháráj, placed side by side with pimps, procurers, prostitutes and dancers. The bulk of the classes mentioned, too, are Muhammadans.

At length we come to the Baniyas. An attempt is made to assign a remoter antiquity to the Khattris than the Rájputs can claim, chiefly on the authority of Mr. Campbell's *Ethnology*. It would seem that the Bráhmans, if they ever did eat food (not cooked but uncooked food) from the hands of the Kshatriyas, gave up the practice on account of their continued squabbles with them, whilst having no ground of enmity against the trading class of Khattris they still took this convenience, as a favour, from them. It seems highly improbable, that the Khattris if, as they claim to be, of the same lineage as the Kshatriyas, and in no way degenerate, should have made so little way in India as they have; their number, except in the Panjáb, where they co-exist with the Sikh Kshatriyas, being insignificant. The Agarwálas are on the whole the most powerful and wealthy of the Baniyas. It matters very little how they came by their name unless some historical fact can be connected with it. It would, however, have been well to have given some more detailed account of their customs. The Oswals, who should have been placed with Sarawaks (who are barely mentioned), are ruthlessly sacrificed; and make way for Babu Siva Pershad's history which is nothing to the point. A curious fact that some of these Jain Baniyas intermarry with Hindu Baniya castes is altogether passed over. The book have by some strange caprice included with the other Baniyas, the Banjaras, a tribe almost certainly aboriginal to a considerable extent, converted to Islamism, by profession originally robbers, by force of circumstances converted into carriers, especially of gram. No particulars are given of the divisions of them, which are said to be marked. In Bengal the Mukeris or Mukhiyar are the tribe most commonly found. As we pass on confusion becomes more confounded. After cautioning his reader that Halwais and Bhunas (as he calls Kandus) are often confounded, the author proceeds to enumerate Bunnewals, a mere misspelling for Bunawala (synonym of Kandus), as one of the castes of Halwai.

Sunri, the generic title, is included under Kalwar, which is also made to include Gurar, a Baniya and not a Sunri. It is curious that the Sunri, though necessarily impure from their occupation, frequently style themselves Sudras, especially those who have adopted agriculture as a pursuit.

The Kayasthas which as a class rank certainly far higher than the Baniyas are here introduced. The position of the twelve tribes of Kayasthas is variously given. Mathur Kaits, however, are allowed by all to be the chief class, and with them alone do other castes intermarry. Unai, the half-caste, is included on the authority of Elliot alone, but is not admitted by the Kayasthas as a Kayastha class at all. The Bráhmans allege that the Unai are Bráhmans, who by trade lost their caste; and our author himself has previously included them as Baniyas. The account of the Bengali Kayasthas is meagre and incorrect. There are seventy-two and not eleven classes, but the title is only introduced to bring in Bábu Guru Das Mittra.

The divisions of the artisans is somewhat quaint. Next to the Sonars, a class of extreme respectability, come the Carpenters, impure in every part of India. Laheri who are said to be earthenware varnishers are really Lac-workers. Dabgar are Chamars; and Patua, also called Jugi Patua, merely an offshoot of the Tantis.

The agricultural castes are more carefully considered; though there are still, however, errors and omissions. It is strange that no other Kurmis are enumerated than those that could be culled from the supplemental glossary, as in one district alone twenty-eight sub-divisions have been found. No notice, too, is taken of the singular connection subsisting between the Kurmis and the Dhanuks. A Kurmi, who sells himself into slavery (not an uncommon thing even now) is said to become a Dhanuk. Mahtau (properly Mahto) said to be a class of Kurmis is a common name for a headman amongst Kurmis, Koiris, and Goallas in Behar, Gorakhpur, Hurrpur, and the neighbouring parts, and not a class enough to all.

are enumerated separately from Kurmis, though only a sub-division of them. Our author persists in confounding them with the Malis, in the matter of the Maur or bridal crown; though under the head of Malis, he afterwards corrects himself. Dhailphora separately enumerated are Kurmis, and the Rasgars are Rájputs, now by conversion Musalmáns.

The Gowallas (calling themselves in the North-West, Ahirs) are certainly one of the largest of the castes. They have three great divisions and innumerable sub-divisions. Gaddis enumerated by Mr. Sherring as Gowallas are really Gaveis (a far inferior caste), though elevated by Dr. Hunter to the dignity of Bráhmans. The Gujars and Jats are almost certainly Gowallas by extraction, and Gowalla Rajas were formerly paramount in parts of Hindustan. Notwithstanding Mr. Campbell's view that Gowalla is not a tribal name, there seems to be but little doubt of the race connection between the Gowallas of the North-West and Bengal, even inclusive of those of Orissa. The Sadgops are

certainly a difficulty; but as they have no connection with the other Gowallas of Bengal, and neither intermarry with them, nor follow the same pursuits, it is perfectly possible they may be a different race. Their name certainly favours a contrary notion.

Under Kahars are enumerated one class of Dhanuks or Kurmis, four classes of Mallahs, one class of Kamdus, and several independent castes; whilst the best known class of Kahars, the Rawanis, are not mentioned.

The Dhobi allow seven castes to exist amongst them, Magadhiya, Ajudhiya, Kanaujiya, Belwar, Gosar, Bathare, and Pagahiya. Of the other tribes mentioned, Shaikh and Bhaika are Musalmáns. No mention is made of the cultivating Dhobis, who do not intermarry with the washing Dhobis; nor of the class calling themselves Rajdhob, who are said generally to be engaged in the operation of rice cleaning.

Mallah is again a curious instance of the cross divisions in which Mr. Sherring delights, three of the classes given under the head of Kahar being again enumerated here.

Again Lodha, Bind and Musahar, all separate tribes, are enumerated as Nuniyas.

The chapter on the Bhars is extremely interesting. They seem to have been supplanted by the Rájputs, but they are not eradicated as our author would lead us to suppose. There seems very good reason to connect them with the Rajwars, and tradition also allies the Cherus with them. The connection of the tribes mentioned in the next chapter, Cherus, Tharus, Kharwars, &c., with the Kols will probably be one of the subjects of Colonel Dalton's ethnology; and so little is at present known of these tribes by the general student of the people of India, that we may be pardoned for passing over this part of the book. The Bawariya should, however, have called up the mention of the Bauris of Bengal, with whom there is little reason to doubt they are allied. Dharkars, merely a superior class of Doms, are made to include Dam under them. Bansphor, another class of Doms are included both under Dharkar and Mehter. It is curious that the authority of Elliot should not have been followed here, as he is perfectly correct in separating Hela and Raut from the ordinary Bhangi or sweeper, from whom also the Hari is a separate caste.

The Pasis seem to be a tribe that have lost very little of their distinctive character. In no way do they assimilate to the people around them, and though it is probably going too far to class the Bhars under the Pasis, it seems very likely that they are connected. Oddly enough Mr. Sherring includes the Pasis under Khatitis, who though for some reason impure are still by no means as low in the social scale as he has placed them. Baris and Dhanuks too

instead of being placed on the lowest step of the social scale, should be mentioned as generally employed as personal servants by respectable castes. The Baris too are often soldiers, and make the leaf plates from which *all* castes eat.

We have entered thus minutely into the errors and omissions of the book before us, because we consider, that if with the pains he has evidently taken, the author had set to work differently, a very valuable collection of matter would have been the result. As it is, destitute of an index, and arranged with but little regard to system, the book, except to an expert, is deprived of its chief value—that of a book of reference. Had the old and often published information anent the Vedic division of the Brāhmans, and the thirty-six royal races of Rājputs been suppressed or with the lives of illustrious men relegated to another book; and had the castes and clans occurring in Benares been alphabetically treated; the book would have had a value second only to that of Sir H. Elliot.

And here we would call attention to the Supplemental Glossary, as the form in which any information with regard to castes had best be published, until something like a clear view can be obtained of the system in its entirety. The original work, so far as it went, (we are talking only of the caste part) was especially valuable as narrating generally only facts and seldom indulging in theory. We wish we could say that Mr. Beames had any way improved it in editing; but in fact the book as it now stands bears every trace of having been very hurriedly passed through the press. However that may be, it stands forward as the model which should be followed by future contributors to a knowledge of the subject we have treated, till such time as materials enough have been collected to admit of a scientific arrangement of any sort.

We trust that the Government of India will not lose sight of the opportunity afforded by the census returns to obtain complete lists of the castes of the different provinces of our Indian Empire.

